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THE CHURCH HISTORIANS OF ENGLAND.

THE CHURCH HISTORIANS OF ENGLAND.

VOL. V.—PART I.

CONTAINING

HISTORY OF KING HENRY THE FIRST:

THE ACTS OF STEPHEN, KING OF ENGLAND, AND DUKE OF NORMANDY:

GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS CONCERNING THE INSTRUCTION OF PRINCES:

RICHARD OF DEVIZES:

THE HISTORY OF THE ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY, BY GERVASE, MONK OF CANTERBURY:

ROBERT OF GLOUCESTER'S CHRONICLE:

THE CHRONICLE OF THE ISLE OF MAN.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL LATIN,

WITH PREFACES AND NOTES,

BY THE REV. JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A.

OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, DURHAM:

VICAR OF LEIGHTON BUZZARD.

Seeleys,

HANOVER STREET, HANOVER SQUARE.

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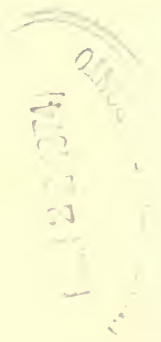

R. CLAY, PRINTER, BREAD STREET HILL, LONDON.

PREFACE.

The present volume contains the following chronicles, which carry onwards the history of our church and state from the commencement of the reign of king Henry the first to the middle of that of Edward the second, a period of more than two centuries.

THE PREFACE TO THE HISTORY OF KING HENRY THE FIRST.

§ 1. Although this treatise had generally been regarded as the seventh book of the "History of William of Jumiége," and published as such by Camden and Du Chesne, it is, in truth, the production of William de Monte.[1] It professes to give an account of the dukes of Normandy from the death of William the conqueror to that of king Henry the first, a few incidents of an historical and miscellaneous character having been added at a later date. The latest event mentioned is the death of the emperor Lothaire the second, which occurred at the close of the year one thousand one hundred and thirty-seven.[2] The whole work is written with a prevailing spirit of candour and impartiality, although the prejudices of the author are evidently on the side of Henry.

§ 2. It is by no means clear that we possess this work in its completed condition. The author professes[3] his intention to append to it some account of Margaret, queen of Scotland, and her daughter Matilda, Henry's first wife; but he did not carry this plan into execution. And further than this; every manuscript which has been examined in the formation of the present edition, as well as all those to which both Camden and Du Chesne had access, agree in omitting a portion of the end of chapter xvii., the whole of chapters xviii., xix., and xx., and the commencement of chapter xxi.[4] The whole of these MSS. continue the narrative without break or interruption, and give no mark of any omission. The copies in the Imperial library at Paris, and elsewhere in France, are equally defective. It would appear that some accident had befallen the original copy, from which all the others have been transcribed; it is strange, however, that this defect was

[1] It contains internal evidence of having been written by another and a later hand; as, for example, the notice of the death of Adela, countess of Blois (ch. xxxix.), in A.D. 1137, and that of Boso, abbot of Bec, in 1136 (ch. xlii.). It gives indications of being the production of an inmate of the monastery of Bec (the residence, at this time, of Robert de Monte), while the affairs of Jumiége are passed over with indifference.

[2] Struvius, Corpus Hist. German., i. 430, Art. de vérif. les Dates, vii. 525.

[3] See pp. 10, 20.

[4] See p. 17. The extent of the deficiency, as well as its subject-matter, is known to us from the general table of contents prefixed to the treatise.

never supplied by the author, or if supplied, that no record of the perfect copy has descended to our times.

§ 3. Two editions of the original text[1] have been employed in forming the present translation.

1. Camden's edition, contained in his collection of writers, under the title, "Anglica, Normannica, Hibernica, Cambrica, a veteribus scripta," (fol. Francof. 1603,) p. 604. The text here appears to have been derived from the Cotton MSS. Vitellius, A. viii., a manuscript which gives tokens of having belonged either to the monastery of Burton-upon-Trent,[2] or St. Mary's, Shrewsbury, and which was transcribed shortly before the year twelve hundred. Camden, however, had the use of some other MSS. in the preparation of his edition, but he used them carelessly, and his text is very imperfect and inaccurate.

2. The edition of Du Chesne, contained in his "Historiæ Normannorum Scriptores antiqui," (fol. Paris, 1619.) This text is founded upon a manuscript which belonged to the president De Thou, and which is now deposited in the Imperial library at Paris, (anc. fonds Latins No. 5997 A.) It is of the twelfth century, and supplies a text which, though not free from errors, is vastly superior to that of Camden, of whose defects and blunders Du Chesne speaks gently.

Such difficulties as the text supplied by these two editions presented, have been removed by a collation with the two Cotton MSS., Vitell. A. viii., and Nero, D. viii., and the Harl. MS. 3679.

PREFACE TO THE ACTS OF STEPHEN, KING OF ENGLAND AND DUKE OF NORMANDY.

§ 1. Of the importance of this fragment, usually known as the "Gesta Regis Stephani," there is only one opinion; its writer, whoever he may have been, being admitted to have given "a more exact account of the achievements of that valiant prince, till about A.D. 1147, than is to be found in any other author."[3] Yet he is defective in his chronology, seldom expressing the exact date of any transaction; and though he does justice to the opponents of Stephen, yet his tendencies are all in favour of that individual. Probably he was a foreign ecclesiastic, who arrived in England in the retinue of Stephen, or some of his continental adherents. From his intimate acquaintance with the incidents which occurred

[1] The requirements of the present edition, which deals only with the last book, do not render necessary any investigation of the question as to the classification of the various editions of the text of William of Jumiége; concerning which see the learned preface of M. Delisle, prefixed to Le Prevost's edition of Ordericus Vitalis, p. lxxiii., ed. 8vo. Paris, 1855.

[2] In a calendar prefixed to the volume occurs the following entry in red ink: "Obitus Nicolai abbatis Burton, et Roberti abbatis Salopiæ." Concerning the decease of the former, see the Annales Monast. Burton, A.D. 1197, ap. Gale and Fell. i. 253, and the Monast. Anglic. iii. 34. The date of the latter is uncertain; see the same volume, p. 514.

[3] Tyrrell's History of England, ii. Pref. p. x.

in the neighbourhood of Bath, Bristol, Gloucester, and Hereford, it would seem that he was resident at no great distance from these localities;[1] and his narrative of events, and his description of places, are recorded with the freshness and the accuracy of an eye-witness. His style is easy and flowing, and it is obvious that he is thoroughly acquainted with the incidents which he professes to narrate.

§ 2. We are indebted to Du Chesne for the discovery and publication of this valuable little treatise. He received it, he tells us, from the episcopal library of Laon, in France. Further than this bare fact we know nothing: we are in ignorance as to the age of the manuscript, how it came to be so much mutilated and defaced as it is, and from what collection it passed into the place of deposit in which he found it. Thus much, however, we know, that even yet the municipal library of Laon possesses several manuscripts of English execution, which were removed thither from Vauclerc (Vallis Clericorum), of which the first abbot was Henry de Murdach, who afterwards became archbishop of York.[2] No trace of the volume containing the "Gesta Regis Stephani" is now to be found at Laon, as is shown by the list of the contents of that library, which is printed in the "Catalogue Général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques publiques des Départements," 4to. Paris, 1849.

§ 3. The text of Du Chesne's edition, as reprinted by the English Historical Society in 1846, is the source whence the present translation has been derived. A few conjectural improvements have been hazarded, in addition to those suggested by Dr. Sewell in the edition just referred to; but they are too unimportant to be specified, nor do they affect the meaning of any passage of importance.

PREFACE TO GIRALDUS ON THE INSTRUCTION OF PRINCES.

§ 1. Giraldus de Barri, more usually known by the designation of Cambrensis, was born about A.D. 1150, and died in or about the year one thousand two hundred and twenty-three. Not only was he a voluminous writer, but few of his contemporaries wrote more pleasingly. From his position at the court,[3] and from his immediate knowledge of the circumstances which he relates, his statements are worthy of great respect. But a strong party feeling animates nearly the whole of his productions; and in none is it more conspicuous than in that which now claims our attention; for the judgment of Giraldus is warped by a deeply-rooted an-

[1] If it were permitted to hazard a conjecture upon very insufficient data, it would be to the effect that the author was attached to the family of Robert, bishop of Bath and Wells, who was a Fleming by birth; see Godwin, de Presul. p. 368.

[2] See Gall. Christ. ix. 633.

[3] See, among other passages, the following: his account of his conversation with king Henry the second (II. xxvi.), and with Richard de Glanville (III. xii.); his narrative of the interview between Henry and his son Richard (Id. xiv.), at which he was present; and his conversation with archbishop Baldwin (Id. xxix.). To these, many similar passages, gathered from his other writings, might easily be added.

tipathy to the monarch whose personal and political history figures most prominently in its narrative.

§ 2. This narrative, which professes to treat "On the Instruction of Princes," consists of a series of anecdotes rather than a connected history, illustrative of the life and character of king Henry the second, and of his sons, the younger Henry, Richard, and John. It was written,[1] originally, while Henry yet filled the throne; but it underwent many revisions from time to time, and we possess it only in its latest form; for the single copy which has come down to us contains passages which could not have been penned until after the death of king John. It is not improbable that this treatise was then brought prominently forward, either by Giraldus himself or his friends, to serve a party purpose or a political object. On the accession of Henry the third, a boy of ten years of age, a large and influential body of the English nobility banded together for the purpose of placing prince Louis, the son of Philip the second, upon the throne of England. For the furtherance of this end, it may be conjectured that the treatise in its present form was put into circulation; for its aim is to paint in the blackest colours the sovereigns of the house of Plantagenet, and to praise the French monarchs.

§ 3. One copy only is extant, the Cottonian MS., Julius, B. xiii., of the earlier portion of the fourteenth century. It i most incorrectly written, and betrays in every page palpable proofs of ignorance, haste, and carelessness. Considerable portions of this work have been printed by the continuators of Bouquet's great collection of the French historians, in their eighteenth volume; but it is to the Rev. J. S. Brewer that we are indebted for the first complete edition.[2] From these two sources the present translation has been derived; reference having been made to the original copy in a few instances where the editions were obscure, or apparently incorrect.

PREFACE TO RICHARD OF DEVIZES.

§ 1. The history of Richard of Devizes gives an account of the affairs of England from the year 1189 to 1192, and of the exploits of king Richard the first, during that time, in the Holy Land.

§ 2. The author states that while he was a monk of the priory of St. Swithen, at Winchester, he had formed a close intimacy with Robert, the prior of that house; to whom, after his removal to the Charter-house of Witham, he paid a short visit. The circumstances which attended this visit are hinted at with some obscurity; but we may infer that in consequence of some disagreement among those monks by whom he was accompanied thither,

[1] In his other writings Giraldus frequently refers to this treatise; see Wharton's Angl. Sacr. ii. 441, 446, 627.

[2] Printed for the "Anglia Christiana" Society, 8vo. Lond. 1846. Mr. Brewer exercised a sound discretion in omitting a few irrelevant passages, in which his decision has been followed by the translator.

it was not of long duration. Upon his return to Winchester he composed the present work, which he dedicated to the prior of Witham, as a memorial of their mutual friendship. It appears from internal evidence to have been written in or after the year 1191, and before the accession of John, in 1199. It may be regarded, therefore, as one of the earliest and most authentic narrations of the reign of Richard the first.

§ 3. Two manuscripts only of this work are extant; one in the Cottonian Library, Domit. xiii., and the other, number cccxxxix., in the library of Corpus Christi College, at Cambridge. They were employed in the formation of the edition published by the English Historical Society in 1838, from which the present translation has been made.

PREFACE TO THE HISTORY OF THE ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY, BY GERVASE.

§ 1. Gervase, the author of the following history, was consecrated a monk of Christ Church, Canterbury, by Thomas Becket, in the year 1162 (Chron. 1418), became sacrist of that church (Id. 1585), and died probably in 1205, or certainly not long after that date. His history of the archbishops of that church is valuable, not only as recording the opinions and statements of a contemporary in the later portions, but as founded upon authentic records during its earlier periods. In all his writings Gervase is influenced by a strong ecclesiastical spirit, and everywhere judges of men and incidents from a monastic point of view. Yet he appears to have been a conscientious writer; and with due allowances for the tendencies which he exhibits, and which he makes no effort to conceal, his narrative is entitled to much consideration. It seems questionable whether the work has descended to us in a complete state, for we nowhere find in it those details respecting the gifts and charters which the kings of England and the archbishops of Canterbury bestowed upon that church, which, as he tells us in his Prologue (p. 295), formed an integral part of his design.

§ 2. We have only one edition of the writings of Gervase, that, namely, which is contained in the Decem Scriptores, edited by Twysden. The text which it presents is, upon the whole, satisfactory, although it is capable of improvement by the help of the Corpus Christi manuscript at Cambridge, number ccccxxxviii.

PREFACE TO THE CHRONICLE OF ROBERT OF GLOUCESTER.

§ 1. The English metrical chronicle, which is ascribed to a monk named Robert[1] of Gloucester, as originally written, contains the history of this island from the time of Brute until the accession of Edward the first, although many manuscripts continue the narrative until a date considerably later. The portion here printed, in a modernised form, embracing the history of the reign of Henry the third, is unquestionably the most valuable portion of the whole, and presents a trustworthy record of the period. Much of it is evidently written from personal observation and local knowledge, and exhibits an intimate acquaintance with the circumstances which the narrator professes to describe. The work was reduced into its present state in or after A. D. 1297, for he speaks of king Louis as having been canonized when he wrote (p. 359, line 384); an incident which, as we know, did not take place until that year.[2]

§ 2. The only edition which we possess of this work, is that published by Hearne,[3] in 1724, and reprinted by Bagster in 1810. He adopted (very injudiciously), as the basis of his text, a copy which he borrowed from Lord Harley, appending a continuation from the immeasurably superior Cottonian copy, Caligula, A. xi., which should form the groundwork of any future edition. He also employed a modernised copy in the Heralds' College, which certainly was written as late as A. D. 1448. There are several other manuscripts extant,[4] but none equal to the Cottonian copy, either as regards purity of text or antiquity. Unfortunately the last leaf is wanting, but the manuscript probably ended with the coronation of Edward the first.

[1] That the writer's name was Robert is clear from p. 375, l. 1193; and that he resided in or near Gloucester is rendered probable, as well from his familiar acquaintance with the localities of the district, as from the philological peculiarities of his language. He also wrote a collection of the Lives of the Saints, which in style and diction exactly corresponds with the present chronicle. Manuscripts occur in Harl. 2250, 2277; Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3, 25; the Vernon MS. in the Bodleian; MS. Ashmole, 43. and MS. Arundel, 8, in the Heralds' College.

[2] See the bull in Raynaldi, ad an. § 66; also Bouquet, xx. 57.

[3] In the Bodleian is a copy of Hearne's edition, with collations by Dr. Waterland, of Magdalen College, Cambridge; but, although carefully made, these collations are all from MSS. which are easily accessible, and therefore of no great importance.

[4] As, for example, the Digby MS. 205, in the Bodleian Library; the MS. Ee. iv. 31, in the Public Library at Cambridge; and one in the collection of Dr. Hunter, at Glasgow, (S. 3. 41.) but of very little value, as the narrative is much abridged, and the language modernised.

PREFACE TO THE CHRONICLE OF THE ISLE OF MAN.

§ 1. This Chronicle is the only historical record which we possess, connected with the early history of the Isle of Man; and as such is introduced into the present series. It professes to exhibit "The history of the kings of Man, and the lives of the bishops of that island, and of certain kings of England, Scotland, and Norway," from A.D. 1015 to A.D. 1316. It abounds in historical information respecting this island, and is a document of considerable interest.

§ 2. Only one early[1] manuscript copy is known to exist, that contained in the Cottonian manuscript, Julius, A. vii. Attention was first directed to it by Camden, who incorporated a considerable portion of it in his Britannia. It was printed in a more correct and complete form by James Johnstone, at Copenhagen, A.D. 1786, in quarto, under the title of "Antiquitates Celto Normannicæ." From that text, corrected in a few places by the original manuscript, the present translation is made.

J. S.

Leighton Buzzard,
April 27, 1857.

[1] A transcript, but of no value for critical purposes, occurs among Gale's books in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, O. x. 22.

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HISTORY OF KING HENRY THE FIRST, BY ROBERT DE MONTE.

HISTORY OF KING HENRY THE FIRST.

Here begins the Seventh[1] Book of the History of the Normans, containing the Exploits of Henry, King of the English and Duke of the Normans.

Chap. I.—The Prologue to the History of King Henry; in which it is shown, in a few words, how much better he was than his Brothers.

As the previous work has treated of the exploits of William, the king of the English and duke of the Normans, it seems by no means inappropriate that this book (which may be regarded as the seventh) should recount the exploits, life, and conversation of the other dukes of Normandy; devoted, however, chiefly to the proceedings (worthy of the knowledge and imitation of posterity) of the most noble king Henry, the son of the William whom we have already mentioned. Nor is the number seven without its significance, and is well fitted to the individual of whom we are writing; for the excellent qualities of his mind and body are shadowed forth in the numbers three and four. Moreover, this same king, whose history we have taken upon ourselves to narrate, occupies the seventh descent in the pedigree of the dukes of Normandy, if you reckon from duke Rollo, in whom this family had its origin.

But, in order that the thread of our history be not broken, we must say something, if it be only a little, respecting his brothers, William, king of England, and Robert, duke of Normandy, whom he succeeded, especially since this may conduce to show how fitted he was to succeed them both. For just as painters are in the habit of using, as a ground, a coat of paint of an iron colour, in order to heighten the tints of the red which they lay over it, so possibly, if we compare his brothers with himself, that comparison will make him more illustrious. This we shall speedily discover to be the case. One of them (I mean William) was celebrated for his courteousness towards the laity; but the complaint was general that he despised men of religion. Robert had attained, and that most deservedly, a great renown in military affairs; but it was as generally and as truly admitted that he was deficient in depth of judgment and in the government of the duchy. But as for Henry, he united to his single person all the good qualities which made them individually renowned; and the possession of those advantages in which (as we have just stated) they were deficient, rendered him more illustrious, not only than they were, but more so than all the princes who were his contemporaries. These, however, shall be explained more fully, each in its own appropriate place;

[1] See the observations in the Preface to this Chronicle, § 1.

and, in order to avoid the appearance of a digression at the very commencement of our history, we shall henceforth follow out our narrative of events in their regular order.

CHAP. II.—HOW, UPON THE DEATH OF KING WILLIAM, THEIR FATHER, HENRY'S BROTHER, WILLIAM, CROSSED OVER INTO ENGLAND, AND WAS MADE KING; AND HOW ROBERT OBTAINED THE DUKEDOM OF NORMANDY; AND HOW THIS SAME ROBERT FIRST GAVE HENRY THE COMTÉ OF COUTANCE, AND THEN TOOK IT FROM HIM.

So, then, upon the death of William, the king of England, his son William, having crossed the sea with all possible speed at Tolca,[1] was joyfully accepted by the English and French, and was crowned king at Westminster in London, by Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, and his suffragan bishops: for his brother Robert, before the death of his father William, had departed from Normandy, taking it ill that he would not permit him (Robert) to make what arrangements he pleased, as well respecting the duchy of Normandy as of Mans. For some time previously he had been nominated as the heir of both of them; but he was anxious to obtain possession of one of them, even during his father's life, for this reason: Margaret, the daughter of Herbert, formerly count of Mans, had been pledged to him in marriage; but before they were actually married, she had died as a nun devoted to God at Fécamp. So, when he was staying in Ponthieu, near Abbeville, with some young nobles like himself, the sons of the lords of Normandy, (who paid him much court, on the plea that he was expected hereafter to become their prince, but who, in truth, were seduced by the love of novelty,) and was harrying the duchy of Normandy (chiefly the frontier parts of it) by inroads and plunderings, he was informed of the decease of his father. Hereupon he immediately returned to Rouen; and without encountering any opposition, he took possession of that city, and the whole of the duchy. And when those persons who were faithful to him were urgent with him to lose no time in claiming by arms, as his right, the kingdom of England, of which his brother had deprived him, it is said that he replied, with his usual folly, which I may be permitted to describe as bordering upon imprudence:—"By God's angels, even if I had been in Alexandria, the English should wait for me; nor would they dare to make themselves a king before my arrival: and as for my brother William, he will on no account venture, out of regard to his own head, without my permission, to do that you tell me he thinks of doing." Thus he spoke at first; but after he had become acquainted with the issue of the matter, there sprung up no small disagreement between his brother William and himself.

While this was going on, their brother Henry remained in Normandy with duke Robert. As his father was dying, he had given Henry five thousand pounds of English money, and his brother Robert gave him the comté of Coutance; or, as some say, he

[1] Probably Touques, near Honfleur, where a river of that name falls into the sea.

pledged it to him: but, however that may be, he did not long enjoy it; for, taking advantage of some paltry opportunity, he was induced, by the suggestions of some evil men, to seize his brother, who expected nothing of the sort, while he was at Rouen; and, to his own disgrace, he then extorted from him what he had previously bestowed as a gift.

CHAP. III.—ABOUT THE DISPUTE WHICH AROSE BETWEEN WILLIAM, KING OF ENGLAND, AND HIS BROTHER ROBERT, DUKE OF NORMANDY; AND HOW THEY BESIEGED THEIR BROTHER HENRY IN MONT ST. MICHEL.

SOME little time after this, William, king of England, and Robert, duke of Normandy, came to terms of peace the one with the other; and yet Robert could very easily, before this time, have possessed himself of the realm of England, had he acted with a little more prudence: for Eustace, count of Boulogne, and the bishop of Bayeux, and the count of Mortain, his uncles, and the other chief men of Normandy, crossing the sea with a large army, made themselves masters of Rochester, and some other castles in the county of Kent; and they held them for duke Robert's advantage, until he himself should arrive; but at this time he was enjoying himself in Normandy, in an unbecoming manner. So they were for a long time besieged by king William, whilst the person for whose behoof they were exposing themselves to this danger rendered them no assistance whatever. Thereupon they abandoned the fortresses of which they had possessed themselves, and returned home in disgrace. And so, at length, as we have mentioned, a kind of agreement (such as it was) was entered into between them, at Caen; at which Philip, king of the French, was present, who had arrived to assist the duke against king William, who was then resident in the town of Eu, with an immense army of English and Normans. As far as duke Robert was concerned, this treaty was disgraceful and prejudicial; for whatever king William had succeeded in seizing in Normandy, by the treachery of the duke's subjects, who had surrendered their castles to the king,—the very castles which had been entrusted to them by the duke, that they might thereby harass his brother,—all this he was permitted freely to retain. The fortresses of which he thus became possessed were Fécamp and the town of Eu, which William, count of Eu, had surrendered to him, along with his other strongholds. In like manner acted Stephen, count of Albemarle, the son of Odo, count of Champagne, and the nephew, on the sister's side, to the elder William, the king of the English; and other persons who resided beyond the Seine had done the like. So when these two brothers ought to have assisted their brother Henry, and made such a provision for him as would have enabled him to live respectably, like their brother and a king's son, they attempted to drive him out of the whole of his father's lands. And so it happened that, upon a certain occasion, they besieged him in Mont St. Michel; but while they were here labouring in vain for a long time, and had begun at last to quarrel among themselves, count Henry, departing thence without challenge, took possession of a very strongly fortified

town called Domfront, by the skilful management of one of its inhabitants; for this individual became indignant at the treatment which he and his fellow-townsmen experienced at the hands of Robert de Belesme, a man of a fierce and cruel disposition, who at that time had possession of the castle. From this period Henry guarded the castle of Domfront with such care, that it continued in his possession as long as he lived.

About this time,[1] John, archbishop of Rouen, died, and was succeeded by William, abbot of St. Stephen's, at Caen.

CHAP. IV.—HOW, UPON THE RETURN OF KING WILLIAM INTO ENGLAND, HENRY REGAINED POSSESSION OF THE COMTÉ OF COUTANCE.

BUT as soon as king William returned into England, Henry very promptly recovered possession of the greater portion of the comté of Coutance, of which he had been fraudulently dispossessed; and this he did by the consent of king William, and by the help of Richard de Revers and Roger de Mandeville: and because Hugh, earl of Chester, had acted faithfully towards him, not only in this matter, but in the most of his other difficulties, he made him a grant of the whole of the castle which is called the castle of St. James,[2] in which the earl, before that time, had possessed nothing more than the care of the garrison of the town. The elder king William had built it upon the borders between Normandy and the lesser Brittany, at the time when he was marching with an army against Conon, count of Brittany, the son of his cousin Alan, who was in rebellion against him. This was before the conquest of England. And, in order to secure the unprotected churches, and the people who resided upon the outskirts of his dominions, against the plundering inroads of those robbers, the Bretons, he built this fortress, and gave it to Richard of Avranches, the father of this earl Hugh.

CHAP. V.—HOW THE PEOPLE OF MANS, PERCEIVING THAT DUKE ROBERT WAS OCCUPIED WITH MANY TROUBLES IN NORMANDY, TOOK FOR THEIR COUNT HELIAS, THE SON OF JOHN DE FLECA.

IN the meantime, the inhabitants of Mans, when they perceived how fully duke Robert was engaged with the disturbances of Normandy, entered into an agreement with Helias, the son of John de Fleca,—a bold and energetic man, and one who had considerable influence in that province,—to this effect; namely, that he should marry the daughter of a certain count of Lombardy, that is to say, the grand-daughter of Herbert, late count of Mans, by his eldest daughter; deeming that by this arrangement they could free their necks from the yoke of the dukes of Normandy. It took no great persuasion to induce him to agree to the project; for this individual, of whom we have been speaking anticipated their suggestions, and brought the matter to a conclusion without further delay. Nor were either he or his counsellors restrained from this act of pre-

[1] The date is uncertain; see Gall. Christ. xi. 36, 37.
[2] On the border, between Fougères and Avranches.

sumptuous rebellion by the remembrance that, from an early period, the district of Mans had been under the rule of the dukes of Normandy, or that, even within our own memory, William, the most noble duke of the Normans, (who afterwards so most valiantly conquered the English,) delivered the inhabitants of that city from the oppressions of Geoffrey Martel, the elder; and, as long as he was alive, sheltered them under the wings of his protection, governed them as if they were his own people, and, on his death, left them under the charge of his successors. Hence it came to pass that, shortly after the decease of that king, duke Robert, of whom we are now speaking, checked with an army of Normans—at the head of which he marched into their district—an attempt which they made, about the commencement of his rule, to cast off their allegiance to his authority.

CHAP. VI.—HOW ANSELM, ABBOT OF BEC, HAVING BEEN PROMOTED TO THE ARCHBISHOPRIC OF CANTERBURY, WILLIAM, A MONK OF THE CLOISTER OF THE SAME PLACE, SUCCEEDED HIM.

ABOUT the same time, Anselm, abbot of Bec, having been appointed to the archbishopric of Canterbury, was succeeded in the government of the same place by William de Beaumont, a man to be praised for his religion, and a monk of the cloister of that same monastery. In his second year, pope Urban came into France, and assembled a council at the city in the district of Auvergne, which is called otherwise Clermont,[1] for the discussion of ecclesiastical affairs. Among other wholesome arrangements which were there made, he exhorted the faithful, as well those absent as those present, for the remission of their sins, that they should go to Jerusalem, in order to deliver the holy places from the power of the heathen, by whom they were at that time possessed and defiled.

CHAP. VII.—HOW ROBERT, DUKE OF THE NORMANS, PAWNED HIS DUCHY TO HIS BROTHER WILLIAM, KING OF THE ENGLISH, AND THEN SET OUT FOR JERUSALEM.

STIRRED up by this divine exhortation, nearly the whole of the knights of the western world (such, at least, as were of any reputation) prepared themselves, during the course of the following year, for this pilgrimage; and this was done not only by the most illustrious of them, but also by those of a private condition. Stimulated with the desire of doing the like, Robert, duke of Normandy, sent a message to his brother William, the king of the English, asking him to come speedily into Normandy, and that he should have his (Robert's) duchy until his return, provided he would make provision, out of the abundant treasures of the English, for the necessities of himself and his followers. Rejoiced at these tidings, king William crossed over into Normandy, and lent duke William ten thousand marks of silver, upon this condition—that as long as he (the duke) should be absent on the said pilgrimage, the king should hold the duchy of Normandy in pledge; and that it

[1] From the 18th to the 28th of November, 1095.

should be restored to him upon the repayment of the sum of money aforesaid. Matters being thus arranged, count Henry came to king William, with whom he continued to reside; and from whom he received a grant of the whole of the comté of Coutance and Bayeux, with the exception of the city of Bayeux and the town of Caen.

At this time the aforesaid king William erected a castle, named Gisors, on the border-land between Normandy and France; which his brother Henry, who succeeded him, by God's providence, made impregnable by throwing round it a wall with lofty towers.

CHAP. VIII.—OF THE EXCELLENCY OF THE MANAGEMENT OF THIS WILLIAM IN TEMPORAL MATTERS, AND HOW HE PERSECUTED THE CHURCH OF GOD AND HIS SERVANTS.

WE may introduce into the pages of these our Annals that this king William, upon two several occasions, marched an army into the districts of Wales and subdued the Welsh, who had rebelled against him: and that when Malcolm, king of Scotland, advanced into England with his troops, he met him, in like manner, and brought about such terms of agreement as he pleased. To this add, that, having heard that Helias, count of Maine, aided by his men, was bringing Fulco, count of Anjou, within the city of Mans, (for Helias had, in the first instance, taken that city from the king's men, but they had restored it to the king, in consequence of which they were now being besieged by Helias,)—having been made aware of this, I repeat, when he was in England, the king called together such knights as then happened to be in immediate attendance upon him, and directed that the others should follow. On their arrival at the sea-coast, meaning to cross over into Normandy, they found that the wind was adverse; but the king ordered that they should embark without regard to the wind, adding that he never had heard of a king being drowned at sea. Having thus passed across despite the elements, so to say, he caused these counts, whom we have mentioned, to raise the siege and flee away by the sole report of his arrival. These, his exploits, and such as these, we may record of him as truths; but all these are valueless, for his conduct towards the servants of God and holy church was very harsh; and for these he did a late and fruitless penance, as is the opinion of the greatest number of wise men. We think it best, therefore, to touch upon these matters very slightly, out of regard to the plan of our history; being more anxious to give ourselves ampler scope for a fuller narrative of the proceedings of his brother and successor Henry, of holy memory, who highly regarded, protected, and assisted men of religion and God's church.

Whilst this same William had the government of England, Morell, the nephew of Robert de Moubray, earl of Northumberland, slew Malcolm, the king of Scotland, whom we have mentioned, together with his eldest son and the greater portion of their army, near the English border. This Robert attempted to lay hold upon certain fortresses belonging to the king, which were situated close

upon the verge of his own earldom; whereupon he was seized by the knights of king William, by whose orders he was cast into prison, in which he continued for a long time; and, during the reign of king Henry, he was at length delivered from his prison-house by death. Many people affirm that this punishment overtook him in retaliation for having treacherously slain the king of Scotland, who was the father of the most noble Matilda, who was afterwards the queen of the English. The landed possessions which he held in Normandy, and the greater portion of the earldom which we have mentioned, were given by Henry, when he became king, to Nigel de Albinnei, an illustrious and excellent man. This same Nigel afterwards married Gundreda, the daughter of Girald de Gornay, by whom he had a son named Roger de Moubray, who, while still a youth, succeeded his father when he became a monk of Bec, and who gave to that same church great possessions in England. At the request of Hugh de Gornay, his father, who was at that time a monk of Bec, this Girald made many donations to the said church; but at length he died, when on his way to Jerusalem, in company with his wife Edith, the sister of William, earl of Warren. His widow, on her return, married Drogo de Monceio; and by her he became the father of one son named Drogo. This Girald was succeeded by his son, named Hugh, who had a son of the same name by the widow of Ralph de Parrona, count of Virmandois. We have anticipated ourselves in thus briefly mentioning the friends and benefactors of the monastery of Bec; but now let us return to the sequence of our history.

CHAP. IX.—HOW THIS KING WAS SLAIN IN THE NEW FOREST, IN WHICH HIS BROTHER RICHARD HAD MET WITH HIS DEATH A SHORT TIME PREVIOUSLY; AND HOW THE COMMON PEOPLE ACCOUNTED FOR THEIR DEATH.

So, as we said before, Robert, duke of Normandy, went to Jerusalem in the year of our Lord's incarnation one thousand and ninety-six, and pawned the duchy of Normandy to his brother William, the king of England. Shortly after this, as the said king was one day hunting in the New Forest, he was smitten to the heart by an arrow heedlessly shot by one of his attendants; and so he died, on the fourth of the nones of August [2d Aug.], one thousand one hundred, in the thirteenth year of his reign. The decease of Richard, the brother of this William (which had occurred some time previously, during the lifetime of their father), was occasioned by his having hurt himself against a tree, whilst hunting in the same forest; and soon afterwards it occasioned his death. It is very generally reported that these two sons of king William perished in that wood by God's judgment; for that monarch, in his anxiety to enlarge the boundaries of the forest, had destroyed many villages and churches in its neighbourhood.

CHAP. X.—HOW HENRY, HIS BROTHER, WHO MARRIED MATILDA, THE DAUGHTER OF THE KING OF SCOTLAND, SUCCEEDED HIM.

KING WILLIAM being thus slain, as we have mentioned, his brother Henry immediately caused his corpse to be conveyed to Winchester, and to be buried there in the church of St. Peter, before the high altar. After the funeral, he came to London, and on the fourth day after his brother's death, he received the royal crown at Westminster, with the approval of the French and English. It was a cause of great rejoicing to many, that now, at length they had for their king the issue of a king and a queen, and one who had been born and educated in England among themselves: and in order that the king should lead such a life as was according to the law, he married, during the same year, the most honoured Matilda, the daughter of Malcolm, king of Scotland, and Margaret. Of how great holiness and learning, as well secular as spiritual, were these two queens, Margaret and Matilda, is fully described in the book which narrates the history of their lives.[1] Nor must this be passed by unnoticed, that this Matilda was married to the most noble king Henry, at Westminster, upon the feast of St. Martin [11th Nov.], by Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, of holy memory; and on the same day she was crowned with the royal diadem. This king Henry was a man endowed with many virtues, a follower of justice and peace, a lover of religion, a very severe punisher of criminals and thieves, and one who triumphed gloriously over all his enemies, not only renowned princes and counts, but even over the most illustrious sovereigns.

CHAP XI.—HOW MATILDA BORE HIM A SON NAMED WILLIAM, AND A DAUGHTER, WHO IN DUE TIME MARRIED HENRY, THE EMPEROR OF THE ROMANS.

BY his wife, this second Matilda, the queen of the English, king Henry had a son named William, and one only daughter, who had her mother's name and her mother's good qualities. When she was a child, scarce five years old, she was sought in marriage by Henry, the fifth king and the fourth emperor of the Romans and Germans; and having obtained her, she was conveyed into her kingdom, attended by nobles, bishops, and counts, who had been sent on the embassy; and she was laden with countless presents, given her by both her parents. She was married, with great magnificence, at Utrecht, on the following Easter,[2] and consecrated queen at Mentz, on the festival of St. James [25th July], by the archbishop of Cologne, in the presence of the other bishops, the chief of whom was the archbishop of Trêves, who reverently held her in his arms as she was being consecrated. He then directed that, as she had been consecrated queen, she should spend the time which must elapse until her marriage in being carefully educated, during which interval she should learn both how to speak

[1] A reference, apparently, to the "Vita Margaritæ Scotorum Reginæ," printed by Pinkerton in his "Vitæ Antiquæ Sanctorum Scotiæ," p. 327, 8vo. Lond. 1789.
[2] Namely, the 29th of March, 1114.

the German language, and comport herself according to the habits of the German people. Of this most noble empress we shall have more to say hereafter.

The William whom we mentioned, king Henry's son, who was born after the empress Matilda, (but of whom we speak first, out of deference to his sex,) when he had come to the age of youth, died before his time: for, as he was crossing over from Normandy into England, the ship struck upon a rock in a dangerous part of the course between Barfleur and Southampton, which is called "Cataras" by the inhabitants, and he and many of his father's nobility perished. By this single event, fortune cast a dark cloud over the otherwise prosperous life of this sovereign, every other circumstance of which was most propitious. But having now mentioned these particulars somewhat out of order, let us return to the sequence of our history.

CHAP. XII.—HOW ROBERT, DUKE OF THE NORMANS, ON HIS RETURN FROM NORMANDY, CROSSED OVER INTO ENGLAND, OF WHICH HE INTENDED TO DEPRIVE HIS BROTHER; AND HOW THEY CAME TO AN AGREEMENT.

No long interval of time occurred, after Henry obtained the government of the kingdom of England, before his brother Robert returned from Jerusalem. Without the payment of any money, he received from his brother Henry restitution of the duchy of Normandy, which he had pledged to him; keeping, however, by him, in readiness, the sum for which he had pawned it, should it happen to be demanded of him by his brother. When he heard that his brother Henry had been appointed king of the English, he began to be very angry with him, and to utter many threats against him, because he had dared to take possession of the realm of England. Influenced by these feelings, he began to prepare a fleet to the best of his ability; which, being ready, he crossed over into England: but king Henry (whose confidence was in God alone) quickly assembled a large body of English troops, and marched against him, ready to drive him, and all who had accompanied him, out of English ground. And this he speedily would have done, by God's assistance, but that his brother entered into an agreement with him to this effect—that the king would every year pay him an income of four thousand marks of silver. The count also remitted the payment of the like sum to queen Matilda, his brother's wife: and thus an agreement having been entered into between them, count Robert remained for some time in England; and after he had continued there as long as he pleased, he returned into Normandy.

CHAP. XIII.—HOW THIS AGREEMENT WAS BROKEN; AND HOW HENRY TOOK HIM PRISONER IN THE BATTLE AT TENECHBRAY; AND HOW WISELY HE GOVERNED THE DUCHY OF NORMANDY, AS WELL AS THE REALM OF ENGLAND, AS LONG AS HE LIVED.

THIS agreement, however, was not of long continuance between them; for count Robert, giving too easy credence to those persons who would rather that there were discord between them than peace,

began to look for opportunities whereby to stir up strife with his brother. Unable to endure this any longer, king Henry became very angry that his brother was thus wasting the inheritance which he had received from their father, the duchy of Normandy; for he had scarce anything left in his own possession save the city of Rouen; and even this he perhaps would have given to some person, if the citizens would have permitted it. Incensed herewith, I repeat, he crossed the sea with all possible speed; and having hastily collected a considerable army, he besieged the city of Bayeux; and having got possession of it, without much trouble, he destroyed nearly the whole of it. Next he took Caen. Shortly after this, it happened that, as he was besieging a castle belonging to the count of Mortain, called Tenerchebrai, and was giving all his energies to its reduction, his brother, the count Robert, and the count of Mortain, together with a very large body of troops, made a furious attack upon king Henry, thinking that they would have their revenge of him, and destroy him from off the face of the earth; but, overtaken by the judgment of God, they were both made prisoners by king Henry's soldiers, and they, and many others with them who had been taken at the same time, were brought before the king. Thus the Almighty granted this God-fearing sovereign a bloodless victory, as He had formerly done for His servant the emperor Theodosius; for in this battle not one person was killed on the king's side, and on the other side scarce sixty perished. Thus the battle being ended, and peace restored to this miserable province, (which was nearly ruined by the improvidence of the said count,) king Henry took into his own hands the whole of Normandy, and all the castles of the count of Mortain. Having thus restored peace to the whole land, he returned into England, taking with him his brother Robert, and the count of Mortain, and such of the others as he thought expedient; and kept them in free custody as long as they lived. This battle between king Henry and his brother Robert, duke of Normandy, was fought upon the fifth of the kalends of October [27th Sept.], in the year of our Lord's incarnation one thousand one hundred and six.

In the same year, and in the month of February, there had appeared a terrible comet, which inspired kings and dukes with fear, as importing changes in their realms.

Count Robert held possession of the duchy of Normandy for nineteen years, not including the period when he was absent upon the expedition to Jerusalem. This Robert was a very brave soldier, and did many gallant exploits, chiefly at the time when Antioch and Jerusalem were taken by the Christians from the Saracens; but his government was anything but advantageous for the interests of the duchy, in consequence of his simplicity and unsteadiness of purpose; for he lent too ready an ear to evil counsellors.

CHAP. XIV.—OF SIBILLA, THE WIFE OF DUKE ROBERT, AND HIS SON WILLIAM; AND HOW THIS WILLIAM WAS MADE COUNT OF FLANDERS.

As Robert was on his way back from the expedition to Jerusalem, he married Sibilla, the sister of William, the count of Con-

versana, by whom he had a son named William. The countess was of a beautiful person and good disposition; she conducted herself with prudence; and at such times as the duke was absent, she managed not only her own private affairs, but also the public affairs of the duchy, much better than he could have done had he been present. She resided only for a short period in Normandy, being deceived by the envy and faction of some noble women.

In process of time this William, the son of duke Robert, became count of Flanders. We will now briefly explain how this came about. Whilst this youth (who was of good report) was in exile in France, his father, as we have said, being put in chains by king Henry, it so happened that certain traitors murdered Charles, count of Flanders, in a church, while he was attending the sacred mysteries. Hearing this, the queen of the French, the wife of king Louis, gave her sister in marriage to this William, intending, through her husband's instrumentality, that he should be made count of Flanders. For this count Charles had died childless, and William was nearly connected with the family of the counts of Flanders, inasmuch as his grandmother Matilda, the queen of the English, was the daughter of Baldwin with the Beard, count of Flanders; and this Baldwin had two sons, Baldwin and Robert, both of whom married during the lifetime of their father. Baldwin, the elder, took to wife the countess of Hainault, by whom he had two sons, Ernulf and Baldwin. Robert married the widow of Florence, count of Frieseland, who had one only daughter by her first husband, Florence. Wishing to remove her to a distance from her father's inheritance, Robert gave her in marriage to Philip, the king of France,—and thus the comté of Frieseland continued with the maiden's mother,—whence he was surnamed Le Frison. Baldwin, count of Hainault, died before his father; and his eldest son, Ernulf, then succeeded. Upon the death of Baldwin, count of Flanders, when Ernulf, count of Hainault, ought to have succeeded, (being his grandson by his eldest son,) and was making attempts to do so, Philip, king of the French, came forward to his assistance; and his aunt Matilda, the queen of the English, sending to him a body of troops under William Fitz-Osbern, Robert le Frison, his uncle, having formed a junction between his own forces and the army of Henry, the emperor of the Romans and Germans, fell upon them unexpectedly, upon Septuagesima Sunday,[1] and put to flight Philip the king, and slew his nephew Ernulf, and William Fitz-Osbern, earl of Hereford: and thus he gained possession of Flanders, which he held until his death.

CHAP. XV.—OF WILLIAM, EARL OF HEREFORD, AND THOSE WHO SUCCEEDED HIM.

THIS William,[2] earl of Hereford, whom we have mentioned, was an honourable and excellent man, connected with the family of the

[1] It appears, from a comparison of the statements respecting this battle of Mont Cassel, that it occurred on the 22d of February, 1071, being Septuagesima Sunday; and not in 1070, as is generally affirmed.

[2] See Dugd. Monast. i. 66.

dukes of Normandy, not only on the father's side, but also on the mother's; for his father Osbern was the son of Herfast, the brother of the countess Gonnor, the wife of the first Richard, duke of Normandy. His mother was the daughter of Rodulf, count of Ivri; and this Rodulf was the brother, by the mother's side, of the duke Richard, whom we have already named. This same William married Aeliza, the daughter of Roger de Teonei, by whom he had two sons, William de Breteuil, (who, after his death, became the possessor of the lands which he held in Normandy,) and Roger, who succeeded to the earldom of Hereford. He also had two daughters; one of whom, named Emma, became the wife of Ralph de Waier, a Breton by family, who was earl of Norwich. But he, violating his fidelity to king William the elder, attempted to possess himself of the castle of Norwich; whereupon, being driven out and exiled from England, he went to Jerusalem in company with his wife, leaving behind them a daughter, named Itta, who in course of time became the wife of Robert, earl of Leicester, the son of Robert, earl of Leicester. Whereupon it came to pass that, upon the death of William de Breteuil, his wife's uncle, this same earl became possessed of Lire, Gloz, Breteuil, and the greater portion of the lands which William Fitz-Osbern, his wife's grandfather, had possessed in Normandy. By this wife he had one son, and several daughters. But (as we have stated) William Fitz-Osbern being thus killed, his son, William de Breteuil, who succeeded him, began to lay claim to the town of Ivri, because it had descended from his grandmother to his father, count Ralph. At this time Robert, duke of Normandy, had possession of that castle, as his father, king William, had held it during the whole period of his life; for the countess Alfreda, the wife of count Robert, had caused a very strong tower (which still remains) to be erected on the brow of the hill which overlooks that castle. Robert, count of Meulant, had the custody of that tower, and discharged the duties of a viscount in the town. With his accustomed cunning, he contrived that the castle should be surrendered to William de Breteuil; but on this condition—that, in exchange for what he held in this town, he should receive, as a gift from duke Robert, the district of Brionne, which was contiguous to his own lands, to be held in perpetuity. From the most remote times, this fortress was one of those in which the dukes of Normandy had a residence; in consequence of which they had always hitherto kept it in their own hands, with the sole exception that the second Richard had given it to count Geoffrey, his natural brother, and his son, count Gislebert, had held it after him; but when he was slain, it had reverted into possession of the dukes of Normandy: and as Roger, the son of Richard, laid claim to that castle, upon the grounds that it had been formerly held (as we have stated) by his grandfather, count Gislebert, Robert, count of Meulant, wishing to free himself from all anxiety, so arranged with duke Robert, that a certain castle, called Humet, which was situated within the comté of Coutance, should be given to Robert, the son of Richard, not only as the means of putting an end to that claim, but through the mediation of a considerable sum

of money which Roger had given to the count for this cause. There are many old people who say that Roger's father, Richard, had long ago received the town of Tunbridge, in England, in exchange for this same castle; for they state that the "leuga"[1] of Brionne, in the first instance, was measured round with a line, and that the same line was carried across into England, where it enclosed the same quantity of ground which formed the "leuga" of Tunbridge; so that the district of Tunbridge embraces the same number of miles as that of Brionne. After some time, it happened that Joel de Breval had treacherously captured his lord, William de Breteuil, and kept him in confinement until that William was compelled by constraint to give him in marriage a certain baseborn daughter of his own, together with the castle of Ivry. By her this man of Belial had sons, William Lovel, and Roger the Stammerer, and some others, in whom the wickedness and fraud of their father is yet perpetuated, as in an evil tree, to the damage of the innocent. When William de Breteuil recovered his liberty, he did not forget the injury which he had sustained at the hands of this traitor, but he ventured upon the accomplishment of a design which is worthy of being recorded. Summoning to his assistance, by the payment of large bribes, Philip, the king of the French, and Robert, duke of Normandy, with their numerous armies, and providing them and all their men with whatever supplies they pleased to take from him, he almost entirely destroyed Joel's land and the castle of Breval; and so long besieged and harassed Ivry, that this traitor, distrusting his own resources, surrendered it to him: and so, at last, William kept peaceable possession of this castle as long as he lived, and dealt with it as his own. But as this William was drawing near his latter end, he would have appointed, as the heir of his property, a certain young nephew of his own, named Ralph de Waier, the son of his sister Emma; whereupon his natural son, Eustace, took possession of all his castles, during the time of his father's funeral, and fortified them; and by this act of violence he obtained peaceable possession of his father's whole property, which he held for some time, until his wife Juliana, the bastard daughter of king Henry, arrogantly and foolishly expelled his wardens from the castle of Breteuil, against the king's wishes and her own fealty. Incensed herewith, the king deprived her (and that deservedly) of the whole of that inheritance which he had hitherto held, not by ancestral right, but by the king's consent, or rather by his clemency: and thus the castle of Ivry was given up to Joel and his sons; but the land (as we have already stated) afterwards passed to Robert, earl of Leicester, with his wife. So the town of Pacy was all that remained to Eustace.

William Fitz-Osbern (of whom we spoke above) has been the occasion of this long digression; but now we will return, as we had proposed, to the history of the counts of Flanders.

[1] In translating this passage, Gibson, in Camden (Brit. col. 226), renders leuga by the word "lowy," speaking of the "lowy of Tunbridge," as if the term were familiar at the time.

CHAP. XVI.—OF THE DEATH OF WILLIAM, COUNT OF FLANDERS.

THIS Robert, count of Flanders, of whom we have been speaking, received a grant of the comté of Cambrai from Henry, the king of the Saxons and emperor of the Romans, for which the count did him fealty. This Robert had two sons, Robert and Philip. Robert (who was surnamed of Jerusalem, because he was present when Jerusalem was taken by the Christians) was succeeded by his son Baldwin; but this Baldwin having died of a wound which he had received in a skirmish at the castle of Eu, in Normandy, his cousin Charles succeeded him. He was treacherously murdered, as we have already mentioned; whereupon the comté of Flanders passed to William, the son of Robert, duke of Normandy, of whom we have made mention previously: but he held it for only a short period; for having received a mortal wound, in an assault which he was making upon a town,[1] he died upon the sixth of the kalends of August [27th July], in the year one thousand one hundred and twenty-eight from our Lord's incarnation, and was buried in the church of St. Bertin the Confessor. He was succeeded by Thierri d'Alsace, a cousin of the previous count. Henry, king of England, gave him the sister of Geoffrey Martel, the count of Anjou, in marriage. Robert, duke of Normandy, the father of this William, died in England, in Bristol castle, which belongs to his nephew Robert, earl of Gloucester, to whose custody king Henry had committed this Robert. He died upon the fourth of the ides of February [10th Feb.], in the year one thousand one hundred and thirty-four from our Lord's incarnation, and was buried in the church of St. Peter at Gloucester.

Having introduced these particulars by anticipation, we now return to the current of our history.

CHAP. XVII.—OF THE DEATH OF PHILIP, KING OF FRANCE, AND OF THE SUCCESSION OF HIS SON LOUIS; AND OF THE ORIGIN OF THE COUNTS OF EVREUX, AND OF THEIR ISSUE.

ABOUT this period,[2] Philip, king of the French, departed from this world, and was succeeded by his son Louis. On the death[3] of William, archbishop of Rouen, Geoffrey, dean of Mans, obtained that archiepiscopal see. Shortly after this, William, count of Evreux, died; and now, as we have had occasion to mention this city, it may be useful to trace somewhat further back the origin of its counts.

Robert,[4] the son of the first Richard, duke of Normandy, was archbishop of Rouen and count of the city of Evreux. Contrary to ecclesiastical usages, he had a wife; and, like any layman, he begot two sons, one of whom, Richard, succeeded him in the comté, and the other was called Ralph de Wacci. This count Richard, by the

[1] The town was Alost; see Panckoucke, Hist. de Flandre, p. 94.
[2] He died on the 30th of July, 1108.
[3] A.D. 1110; see Gall. Christ. xi. 40.
[4] From A.D. 990 to 1037; id. col. 26.

widow of Roger de Toenei, who was killed in a skirmish, became the father of the William who succeeded him, and one daughter, who married Simon de Montfort, of whom was born Amauri and his sister Berta. But this Simon had previously been twice married; the former of his wives was the mother of his eldest son, the second of Amauri and his sister Elizabeth. Upon the death of Amauri, Ralph de Toenei [1] * * * * * *

CHAP. XVIII.—OF THE DISPUTE BETWEEN KING HENRY AND AMAURI, THE COUNT OF THE CITY OF EVREUX.

CHAP. XIX.—OF THE BATTLE BETWEEN LOUIS, THE KING OF THE FRENCH, AND HENRY, THE KING OF ENGLAND.

CHAP. XX.—HOW KING HENRY CAME TO TERMS OF PEACE WITH KING LOUIS, AND THEN RETURNED INTO ENGLAND; AND ABOUT THE DEATH OF HIS SON WILLIAM.

CHAP. XXI.—ABOUT THE DISAGREEMENT BETWEEN THAT KING AND WALERAN, COUNT OF MEULAN, AND HOW IT ENDED.

* * * * pushed forward against the right wing of the enemy, the men at arms and mounted archers, of which there was a large body in the king's army; whereupon both sides raised a shout, as is usually the case when they are about to join in the battle. But before the lines, which had been drawn up in compact order, could come to close quarters, the count's troops were nearly annihilated by the arrows of the archers, which were poured in upon them unceasingly on their right hand, where they had no protection from their shields. There is abundant scope here for detail; but we will satisfy ourselves by briefly pointing out the general results.

Shortly after the commencement of the battle, count Waleran was taken prisoner, and all those renowned and powerful knights who followed his standard shared his fate; although a few of them, even after they had come into the hands of their enemies, contrived to make their escape, by the connivance of some friends whom they had in the king's army. Of this number were Amauri, count of Evreux, and William Lovel of Ivry. This battle was fought by the generals of Henry, king of England, against Waleran, count of Meulan, not far from a town called Bourgtheroude,[2] on the seventh of the kalends of April [26th March], in the year one thousand one hundred and twenty-four from our Lord's incarnation.

CHAP. XXII.—OF THE WISDOM WITH WHICH THE KING KEPT HIS LAND IN A STATE OF PEACE.

HAVING thus put count Waleran and his associates into chains, king Henry caused the town of Vatteville to be levelled with the earth; and as he had become possessed of the town of Brionne rather by force than by voluntary surrender, he punished the individual who so long had held it from him after the capture of the count by putting out his eyes. Terrified herewith, the defenders

[1] Every existing MS. is defective at this point; see Preface, § 2.
[2] Near Rouen

of the castle of Beaumont gave it up to the king, fearing to undergo the same infliction.

The whole of this insurrection being thus put down, the king kept possession of the lands, not only of the count, but also of those persons who were taken prisoners along with him. But when the count Waleran was pardoned and restored to liberty, a few years afterwards, he was permitted to enjoy the rental of his lands; but the king still held the fortress in his own custody. Some of the prisoners, however, were kept in chains as long as the king was alive.

From the time when this count of Meulan was taken prisoner in this battle until the death of king Henry (a period of ten years), the whole of the duchy of Normandy and the realm of England enjoyed undisturbed tranquillity, although his nephew William did his best to disturb it during the brief period in which he had possession of the comté of Flanders. But this wise king, who surpassed nearly all his cotemporaries in mercy and riches, showed his possession of the former quality, mercy, by his condescending kindness to churches, and monasteries, and the poor of the land; and employed his abundant wealth in opposing those enemies who were nearest him by sending large bodies of troops against them into different places, by whom they were prevented, at the point of the sword, from plundering churches and robbing the poor. So that it came to pass that even the district belonging to the emperor Henry, and which is most exposed to the assaults of his enemies, was seldom injured by his foes, to say nothing of that which was situated more remotely; for (as we have mentioned) they were kept aloof by the large bodies of troops which this most excellent prince was enabled by his wealth to retain in his service by fixed pay and an honourable remuneration.

CHAP. XXIII.—HOW, OUT OF HIS LOVE OF JUSTICE, HE DEALT WITH THE MONEYERS, WHO HAD FALSIFIED THE COIN THROUGHOUT NEARLY THE WHOLE OF ENGLAND.

I WILL here relate an incident which occurred whilst this disagreement was still continuing between the king and the count of Meulan; for it exhibits a proof both of his stern justice towards evil doers and how little he valued money when placed in comparison with integrity. Whilst he was absent in Normandy, intent upon military affairs, it happened that nearly all the moneyers of the kingdom of England, influenced by I know not what spirit of madness, issued coin made of tin, with the mixture of scarce one third part of silver, whereas the currency ought to have been of silver unalloyed. It happened that the king's troops in Normandy were paid their wages in the same false coin which had been imported thither; and as they could not make any purchases whatever with it, for it had been detected as base, they complained hereof to the king. Enraged herewith, partly on occasion of the losses which it occasioned his soldiers, and partly and chiefly because the laws had been violated, he gave directions commanding

those persons whom he had entrusted with the government of England in his stead, during his absence, to punish all the moneyers who could justly be accused of this act of wickedness with the loss of their right hands, and with emasculation. See here a defender of justice and a strict punisher of iniquity! Had he felt willing to have accepted a ransom for the limbs of so many wicked men, how many thousand talents might he have received! But (as we have stated) the love of justice overcame the love of money.

CHAP. XXIV.—OF THE DEATH OF WILLIAM, ABBOT OF BEC, AND OF THE EXCELLENCY OF HIS SUCCESSOR, THE VENERABLE BOSO.

AT this time died William,[1] abbot of Bec, who was succeeded by one lord Boso, of whom it might be fairly questioned whether he had earned for himself the reverence of mankind, and the highest reputation in matters secular and spiritual, by his singular aptitude for the discharge of business, or his strict observance of the rules of the monastic order. He was upon terms of the closest familiarity with many men of the highest rank in the world and in the church, who reverenced him as a father, honoured him as a master, and loved him as a brother or a son. The former entrusted him with the disposal of their affairs; the latter regarded him as the mirror, looking into which the ecclesiastical orders should study to conform themselves. For the watchful care of such a man, in whom were united the gravity of a consummate wisdom and the prerogatives of a pure holiness, was able to offer them no small advantages in their difficulties. Him (as we have stated) did king Henry appoint abbot of Bec; or rather this was done with the unanimous consent of the entire convent, although he objected to the office, not only from the wish to be under the rule of another, but also from the dread of a more elevated position. For he is reverenced by reverend abbeys, monasteries, synods, and courts, as a prudent and eloquent man; as one no less just than discreet. He tastes the pleasures of authority, but does not banquet on them; for he is one who favours neither money nor influence, but speaks his mind, whether it be in pronouncing sentence or in giving advice. He shows himself now gentle, now severe, as varying circumstances require; but honourable in both: a mild censurer, and a calm enemy to every vice, but to no individual. We must not, however, suffer ourselves to be parted too long from this renowned king and his proceedings; and we now hasten to redeem our promise by recording the incidents connected with the history of his daughter, the empress Matilda.

CHAP. XXV.—HOW, ON THE DEATH OF THE EMPEROR HENRY, KING HENRY BROUGHT BACK HIS DAUGHTER, THE EMPRESS MATILDA, INTO ENGLAND, AND THEN GAVE HER IN MARRIAGE TO GEOFFREY, DUKE OF ANJOU, BY WHOM SHE HAD THREE SONS, HENRY, GEOFFREY, AND WILLIAM.

HENRY the fourth, the emperor of the Romans, having died, in the year one thousand one hundred and twenty-five from our Lord's

[1] He died on the 16th of April, 1124; see Gall. Christ. xi. 227.

incarnation, before he had become an old man, the most powerful king of the English, Henry, brought home his daughter, the aforesaid empress; although those most illustrious princes of the court of Rome, having had experience, during the life of the emperor her husband, of her prudence and the excellence of her disposition, were anxious, above all things, to retain her as their empress, and for this very purpose had followed her to her father's court, and there renewed their solicitations. But the king could not, on any account, agree to their request; for his wish was that after his decease she should succeed him, as of her own hereditary right, in the government of the realm of England; and, therefore, he caused the bishops and archbishops, and the more powerful of the abbots, and the earls and barons of the whole of the kingdom of England, to promise her their fealty, under the most stringent oath, upon these terms,—that they would exert themselves to the very uttermost in order to obtain for this same empress the undisputed governmen of Greater Britain (which is now called England) after his decease It is no business of mine to decide whether they did so or not. But, in process of time, her father, wishing to escape from the hostility and attacks of count Fulco,—the count, I mean, of Anjou, Tours, and Maine,—(for a long-continued feud had existed between them for some particular reasons,) he gave, but unwillingly, his daughter, the empress, in marriage to Geoffrey Martel, the son of this said Fulco, who succeeded him in the comté when this Fulco became king of Jerusalem. By her this marquis had three sons, Henry, Geoffrey Martel, and William, the lawful heirs of the principalities of the English, not only through the line of king Henry, their grandfather, but also on the side of the queen, S. Matilda, their grandmother. For each of them, the count and the empress, was closely connected, but by a different descent, with the kindred of the early kings of England, as is specified in the book which treats of the life of that queen. This piece of biography we might possibly feel inclined to append[1] to the present work, on account of the light which it throws upon the history of the times, and the honour which it reflects upon the memory of both the queens,—her whose history forms its subject-matter, and her to whom it is dedicated.

CHAP. XXVI.—HOW THE KINGS OF FRANCE HAVE A COMMON ORIGIN WITH THE COUNTS OF MANS.

THE empress lost none of her dignity by this her second marriage with the count of Anjou; for although the title of count of Anjou is considerably less illustrious than that of emperor of the Romans, yet, if any one will consult the history of the kings of France, he will discover how noble is the family from which spring the counts of Anjou. There he will find that the kings of France, who govern that kingdom during the present time, derive their origin from the same stock as these counts. These histories contain the following

[1] No such Appendix occurs in any of the copies of the present work; see p. 10, note [1].

particulars, though not told in the same words which are there introduced, after the death of Charles the Bald.

On the death of Louis, the son of Charles the Bald, his son Charles the Simple, being still a youth, was unable to hold the reins of government; and the two sons of Robert, count of Anjou, who was a man of Saxon origin, surviving,—namely, prince Odo (under whose custody Louis had left his son Charles) and his brother Robert,—such being the case, I repeat, the people of Burgundy and Aquitaine elected the aforesaid Odo to be their king; and for thirteen years he ably governed the realm of France, and nobly protected it from the Danes, by whom it was at that time being pillaged. On the death of Odo, Charles the Simple took possession of his realm; and under him, Robert, the brother of this same Odo, was made prince of the Franks: but in consequence of being deprived of that portion of the principality which had been held by his brother before he was elected king, this Robert rebelled against king Charles, and having been himself anointed king, he reigned for one year; but he was afterwards killed at the battle of Soissons by the army of Charles the Simple. However, his son, Hugh the Great, (whose mother was the daughter of Herbert, count of Perrone,) was made prince of the French after him. This Hubert, of whom we have just spoken, treacherously took prisoner this Charles the Simple, as he was returning victoriously from the battle of which mention has been made, and this Charles died while in his custody. This Hugh the Great, by the daughter of Otho, the king of the Saxons, who was afterwards the emperor of the Romans, had two sons named Hugh and Caperet, and their brothers; before the failure of the family of Charles the Great, this Hugh was anointed king over the French. During his own lifetime—indeed, in the first year of his reign—his son Robert was anointed king. He was a very religious man, and exceedingly well instructed in literature by Gerbert, the monk and philosopher, who afterwards became pope of Rome.

I have introduced into my work these particulars derived from the history of the French; for I am desirous that such as are unacquainted with the nobility of the counts of Anjou should know the truth, and that the third royal family of France—for from the commencement of that realm until now there have been so many families—are of the same stock as their predecessors; and this in the way which we have narrated above. So, we repeat, that it was by no means an unseemly match if the daughter of the king of England married a husband whose family was thus interwoven with the royal family of France. Now we return to the continuity of our narrative.

CHAP. XXVII.—OF THE DEVOTION WITH WHICH THIS EMPRESS, DURING HER SICKNESS, DISTRIBUTED HER TREASURES AMONG VARIOUS CHURCHES AND THE POOR.

THIS empress Matilda, of whom we have had occasion to speak so frequently, happening, once upon a time, to be sick at Rouen, gave a most convincing proof of her prudence and religion, as well

to present as to future ages; for with a devout hand she distributed among the churches of different provinces, and the religious poor of both sexes, widows and orphans, those countless treasures of which she was the mistress—not only those which, as empress, she had brought with her from Italy, but also those which she possessed as queen, and with which her father's liberality had provided her from out of the inexhaustible stores of the English. Not even the silken couch upon which she was lying, in her infirmity, was kept back; but she directed that it should be sold, and its price given to the lepers. In this distribution of her goods, the church of Bec was nearer her heart than many others of the numerous monasteries of Normandy—I might almost say, nearer than any of them; for she gave it many gifts, most precious alike from their material and workmanship, which she had obtained, at a great cost, from Constantinople, and which shall continue throughout all ages as proofs and tokens of the love and esteem in which that church was regarded by this august empress. Consequently, it would be a work of supererogation were we to describe them severally, or to specify them by name, for the sake of impressing on the hearts of the inhabitants of that place the memory of a lady so illustrious. The sight of them is a pleasure to the greatest of the guests who came thither, even those who are familiar with the treasures possessed by the most wealthy foundations. The traveller, be he Greek or Arabian, who passes thither, is equally delighted. We believe, and we are justified in believing, that the most just Judge of all men will reward her a hundredfold, not only in the world to come, but even in the present life, for the gifts which she has lavished upon His servants, with a hand no less liberal than religious. We may affirm, without hesitation, that as a present reward she received from God's mercy the renewal of her strength; and that the intelligence of her recovery restored to health also those monks of hers —the monks of Bec, I mean—who before all, and above all, others had nearly exhausted themselves in striving, by the labours of continual intercessions, to obtain for her from God a prolongation of her days.

CHAP. XXVIII.—HOW, WHEN THE EMPRESS DESPAIRED OF HER LIFE, SHE ENTREATED THE KING THAT SHE MIGHT BE BURIED AT BEC, AND OF HER LOVE TOWARDS THAT CHURCH; AND HOW SHE REGAINED HER HEALTH.

WE must not pass over in silence—nay, rather, it ought to be written in capital letters, as the saying is, that it may come to the knowledge of future ages—that, in the midst of her sickness, the empress asked her father to permit that she might be buried in the monastery of Bec. This the king, at the first, refused; saying that it was not fitting that his daughter, the empress, who once and again had been crowned with the imperial diadem by the hands of the pope, in the city of Rome, which is the head of the world, should be interred in any monastery, however celebrated it might be both by its religion and its reputation; but that she ought to be carried to the city of Rouen, which is the metropolis of Normandy, and that there, where lay her ancestors, Rollo and his son William

Longsword, who conquered Neustria by arms, she also should be laid. Having been apprised of this the king's decision, she sent back, as her reply, that her spirit could never be happy unless her wishes were gratified in this respect. By this act of virtue and sound counsel she showed herself to be a woman who despised worldly pomp in the laying aside of the body; for she knew that it was better for the souls of the departed that their bodies should be buried where prayers would be offered up for them to God with greater frequency and more earnest devotion. So the father of the empress, who was wont to conquer others, was himself won over to assent to her wishes by the piety and the wisdom, the earnestness and the devotion of his daughter; and he yielded his assent to her prayer and request, and gave his permission that she might be buried at Bec: but God was pleased that she should be restored to her perfect health, as had been predetermined by Him.

Having spoken thus much in this place about the august empress, as was fitting, we will now proceed to say a few words about the other children of king Henry, although they were not begotten in honourable wedlock. This is necessary to understand the history of the times.

CHAP. XXIX.—HOW, UPON THE DEATH OF HIS WIFE MATILDA, KING HENRY MARRIED ADELIZA; AND OF HIS OTHER CHILDREN, OF WHOM THE ELDEST WAS ROBERT, EARL OF GLOUCESTER, WHO OBTAINED THE INHERITANCE OF ROBERT FITZ-HAMO, HAVING MARRIED HIS DAUGHTER.

UPON the death of this Matilda, (the second of that name who was queen of England, and the mother of the empress, as we have already specified,) king Henry married Adeliza, the daughter of Geoffrey, duke of Louvaine, and the cousin of Eustace of Boulogne. By her he had no issue; but this king had six sons and seven daughters, who, as we have just now mentioned, were of base birth. Of these the eldest, who was named Robert, received from his father in marriage a very noble damsel, called Sibilla, the daughter of Robert Fitz-Hamo (she was the niece of Roger de Montgomery, by his sister Mabel, whose father was Robert de Belesme); and with her he gave this Robert, his son, a very large inheritance, as well in Normandy as in England, which belonged to the lady by right of descent. By her he had five sons; namely, William the eldest born, and his brothers, and one daughter. The chief town of the inheritance which this Robert obtained, along with the damsel whom we have mentioned, is called Torignei;[1] it is situated on the boundaries of the comtés of Bayeux and Coutance, distant about two miles from the river Vire, which is the line of separation between them, on the nearer bank of which it stands. After Robert, the king's son, had obtained possession of this town, he fortified it with lofty towers and very thick walls, and deep ditches, which were hewn out in the rocky mountain itself, so as to make it impregnable against the assaults of all enemies; and he surrounded it nearly on every side with water, which he collected into pools; so that it was almost inaccessible. And although the surrounding district is not

[1] The birthplace of Robert, the author of this History.

well adapted for the residence of settlers, being by no means fruitful, yet the town itself is populous, being filled with traders in various kinds of merchandise, ornamented with buildings, as well public as private, and by no means unprovided with gold and silver. King Henry also gave him the lands of Haimo the steward, who was his wife's uncle. Moreover, as the possession of such wide districts as these was nothing for a king's son, without the name and honour of some public dignity, his loving father gave him the earldom of Gloucester.

Richard, the brother of the earl, and the son of king Henry, perished, along with his brother William, in the shipwreck which we have already described.[1] The other three, Rainald, Robert, and Gislebert, who are yet young, have no landed inheritance. The fourth, William de Traeci, died shortly after his father.

Of the daughters, one, named Matilda, married Rotroc, count of Perch, by whom he had one daughter. This countess Matilda was drowned, along with her brothers, in the shipwreck mentioned above. The second, also named Matilda, was given in marriage to Conon, earl of Lesser Brittany, by whom he had a son named Hoel, and two daughters. The third, Juliana, married Eustace de Pacei, by whom he had two sons, William and Roger. The fourth became the wife of William Goet. The fifth married the viscount of Beaumont, a castle situated in the district of Maine. The sixth was given to Matthew, the son of Burchard de Montemorency. The seventh (the issue of Elizabeth, the sister of Waleran, count of Meulan) is still unmarried.[2]

Chap. XXX.—How, upon the Death of Geoffrey, Archbishop of Rouen, who had succeeded William some time previously, the See passed into the hands of Hugh, Abbot of Reading.

About this time died Geoffrey, archbishop of Rouen, and his successor[3] was Hugh, the first archbishop of Reading.

Shortly after this period, pope Innocent came[4] to the see of Rouen on some business of king Henry's; where he was received and attended by that monarch with the greatest respect,—such, indeed, as was due to that apostolic man. In like manner, upon a previous occasion, when he received a visit at his castle of Gisors,[5] which stands upon the border of his duchy, from pope Calixtus, who came to him upon certain ecclesiastical matters, the king received him with the pomp befitting a king, and sent him away laden with royal gifts.

[1] Apparently in Chap. xx, now lost.

[2] She became the wife of Alexander the First, king of Scotland. The date of her marriage is unknown; but she died before her husband, in A.D. 1122. The English and Scottish historians call her Sibilla; see Chron. Mel. (Ch. Hist. iv. 122,) Fordun. i. 316. Wynton places her death a year earlier, i. 290.

[3] Towards the end of A.D. 1128, or early in 1129; see Gall. Christ. xi. 43.

[4] He was at Rouen on the 9th and 10th of May, 1131; see Jaffé, Regest. p. 565.

[5] This occurred towards the end of the month of November, A.D. 1119; see Chron. of Melrose, ad. an., and Eadmer, p. 125.

CHAP. XXXI.—OF THE CASTLES WHICH KING HENRY BUILT IN THE DUCHY OF NORMANDY, AND HOW BY HIS WISDOM HE OBTAINED PEACE FOR HIMSELF, NOT ONLY IN HIS OWN LAND, BUT ALSO IN DISTANT REGIONS.

THIS king Henry built many castles both in his kingdom and in his duchy; and he improved nearly all those others which had been erected by his ancestors, not only the fortified towns, but also the most ancient cities. The names of those which he built on the borders of his duchy of Normandy, and the contiguous provinces, are the following:—Drincourt, Chateau Neuf, situated upon the river Epte; Verneuil, Nonancourt, Bommolins, Colmont, Pontorson, and others, which I pass by intentionally, to avoid delay. The wisdom and goodness with which God had endowed him enabled him to preserve peace, not only in his own land, but even in realms far distant. He reduced into subjection the Welsh, who were always rebels to him; so that either he or his nobles were now enabled to erect fortresses throughout all their districts, even against their consent; nor could they hold any fortified place during his lifetime, excepting that mountain which, in the language of the English, is called Snowdowne; that is, the Snowy Mountain, because it is always covered with snow.

Many people, however, (and with some good reason,) think that he was worthy of censure in one particular, which was this:—happening to have in his possession the fortresses of some of his barons, and those also which belonged to some of the districts which were contiguous to his own duchy, he dealt with them as if they actually were his own; for he surrounded them with walls and towers, being apprehensive that their owners might be encouraged, through them to make some hostile attempt upon his government. What was his intention in so doing was unknown to many, but the act itself they blamed.

CHAP. XXXII.—ABOUT THE CHURCHES WHICH HE ERECTED; OF HIS LIBERALITY TOWARDS THE SERVANTS OF CHRIST, AND OF HIS OTHER WORKS OF PIETY.

THE illustrious king Henry, of whose actions we are speaking, was most liberal, not only towards the powerful ones of this world, but also (what is more important and more useful) towards men of religion. This is witnessed to by the bishops and abbots, the poor monks, and the convents of the nuns, not only of France and Aquitaine, but also of Burgundy and Italy, who received from him, and that annually, tokens of his great liberality. In England he built, from its foundations, the abbey of St. Mary of Reading, upon the river Thames; and having enriched it with ornaments and landed possessions, he placed therein monks of the order of Cluny. He also built another church, at Cirencester, in honour of St. John; and having placed canons regular therein, he provided them with whatever was necessary. Moreover, in Normandy, he nearly finished the church of St. Mary[1] de Prato, at Rouen, which had been commenced, some considerable time previously, by his mother;

[1] More generally called Bonne-nouvelle de Rouen; concerning which see Gall. Christ. xi. 239.

and he ornamented it with a cloister, and with such offices as are requisite for the use of the monks; and he surrounded the place with a wall; and endowed it with possessions, both in Normandy and England, for the good of the inmates who there serve God; and he gave some costly ornaments to it, and promised that, at a later period of his life, he would be a more liberal benefactor. This same place had once belonged to the church of Bec; for it had formed the patrimony of lord Herlewin, the first abbot and founder of the monastery of Bec; and the king placed therein some monks of Bec, there to serve God. He always exceedingly valued and venerated the abbots and monks of that church, and more especially the lord abbot Boso, as we ourselves can well remember; for this king gave to that venerable man an annual payment of no inconsiderable sum of money to provide food for the support of his own congregation, and for the reception of guests, whom the abbot always tended with abundant love and provided with whatever they required, to the best of his ability, or rather beyond his ability. And although the king, out of his munificence, made this provision, not only on account of his regard to the abbot, but also because he highly esteemed the monks, to whose prayers he frequently commended himself either personally or by some messenger, yet we may gather that he is to be venerated above all his predecessors, in this respect, from the circumstances following:—He sometimes sent to the church of Bec one hundred pounds of silver, and very frequently one hundred marks of the same metal, as a present, during the time when this abbot presided over the establishment; whereas, until then, he had scarce ever given more than a fourth of that sum to this church: and this showed that he was far in advance of all the other persons of his kingdom, as well in holiness as in counsel, in matters secular and spiritual, not only in word, but in work; and this was the more especially apparent during the two concluding years of Boso's life, when this holy man was continually oppressed with a heavy infirmity: for as he was journeying from place to place, the king used to go out of his direct road for the sake of paying him a visit, and would readily grant whatever the other happened to ask, either to supply the wants of his own monastery or any other. Several residences for the servants of God were erected, both within the realm of this most renowned king and also in his remote provinces, by his advice and liberal munificence. For (passing by others of less moment) I may mention the church of Cluny, the greater portion of which was built at his cost, and to which he left immense possessions in England for the redemption of his soul. The like he did for the church of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. He made some provision for the erection of offices for the monks at Tyron; to say nothing of the dormitory[1] there, the whole of which he requested to be allowed to build at his sole expenses, as a memorial of himself. He completed, at Chartres, a hospital for lepers, a very large and wonderful fabric; and this also he erected at his own costs. His boundless liberality made a road across the Alps, which hitherto had been nearly

[1] See Gall. Christ. viii. 1259.

impassable; and this he did for the benefit of those persons who wished to visit the shrines of the apostles or the holy places of the saints. Why should I relate how his devout hands sent annually many a contribution, as well in arms as in such other necessaries as they required, to the knights of the Temple of Jerusalem, who were constantly employed in the defence of the Christian religion against the Agarenes? He gave the Hospital of Jerusalem a certain piece of ground, in the district of Avranches, in which these servants of Christ erected a town called Villadieu,[1] which the king's munificence endowed with important privileges. I pass by how he rebuilt the church of the Blessed Mary, in the city of Evreux,[2] with such beauty as to render it superior to nearly all the other churches of Normandy; after having destroyed the previous fabric with a kind of holy cruelty, so to speak. For (as we have already mentioned) this city was burnt by the king, in consequence of the feuds caused by Amauri; and as the church, which belongs to the episcopal see, could not be saved from destruction, the king afterwards granted that church such a revenue that the fabric was rebuilt in an improved manner, and the episcopal revenues were considerably augmented for the future.

Chap. XXXIII.—About his Death; and how his Body was carried into England, and buried at Reading.

It would be endless were we to specify in detail all his works of piety, or how much and how beneficially they contributed to the welfare of the state, of learning, and of piety. To his works of piety, the church, with her poor, bear perpetual witness; his benefits rendered to the state are witnessed to, not only by the court and nobility of England, but by those of remote provinces. And we, not unmindful of the benefits liberally conferred upon ourselves, not only by him, but also by his daughter Matilda, the empress, and unwilling to be accused of ingratitude, will do our best to perpetuate among our contemporaries and for future ages, if they will condescend to profit by them, the memory of his actions, although we cannot repeat the whole of them. As for the matters of a spiritual character, we are careful not to neglect returning in kind the benefits which he has conferred upon us.

After a long reign, this Henry, the king of England and duke of Normandy, died in Normandy, on the fourth of the nones of December [2d Dec.], in the year one thousand one hundred and thirty-five from our Lord's incarnation, in the royal seat, which is otherwise called St. Denis, in the wood of Lions. He reigned thirty-five years and four months over England, and over the duchy of Normandy twenty-nine years and four months. His corpse was conveyed into England, and honourably interred in the church of St. Mary, at Reading, which, at his own charges, he had built from the ground. May Christ, the King of ages, mercifully grant him the pardon of his sins and the joys of the redeemed, through the prayers of His Mother; who, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, liveth and reigneth one God, world without end. Amen.

[1] Between Vire and Granville.

[2] See Gall. Christ. xi. 574, 575.

The Epitaph of King Henry.

"King Henry is a proof of how little riches can avail, or rather how valueless they are. During his lifetime the king had loved peace, and he was richer than all the other sovereigns of the Western nations, among whom he occupied the pre-eminence; but what can gems, or precious robes, or vestments avail against the fatal attack? What can his castles do for him, now that he has become the food of worms? Pale death, who assigns to all, to the rich and the poor, an equal lot, advancing his evil foot, knocketh at the door. A dire fever snatched him away from the world on the night of the first of December; and thus sorrows are multiplied to the world: for he was the father of the people; he gave peace and protection to the orphan; and when this good man dies, then the wicked rages, oppresses, and burns. On the one side, weeps England; on the other, Normandy sorrows. Before Henry died, there was peace; after his death, there was grief on all sides."

Another Epitaph.

"Here lies the late king Henry, one to be respected for his intellect, his riches, his condescension towards the injured, and his decent severity towards the oppressor; he was excellent, wealthy, and easy of access. He was the peace and the glory of the earth."

Another Epitaph.

"The renowned king Henry fills this grave; he was formerly a victor in war, a follower of peace, a punisher of crime, a protector of the kingdom, and a lover of goodness. His reputation was extensive: once he was a terror; now he is dust."

Chap. XXXIV.—About the four Sisters of the said King; one of whom, named Adela, married Stephen, Count of Boulogne; and about the Children of Adela.

At the conclusion of this our little treatise, which recounts the exploits of this illustrious king Henry, we may introduce a few particulars respecting the daughters of the first William, the king of the English, who were the sisters of this former sovereign; and this we do out of the affection with which we regard their brother.

The eldest of them, named Cecilia, was a virgin consecrated to God in the monastery of the Holy Trinity, in the town of Caen; and, after the death of Matilda, the first abbess of this place, she presided over this convent for many years.

The second was Constance; she became the wife of Alan Fergant, count of Lesser Brittany, who was the son of the Hoel who succeeded Conon. She died without issue; hence it was that, after her death, that same count took to wife the daughter of Fulco Rechin, count of Anjou, by whom he became the father of the younger Conon, who succeeded him, as we have already had occasion to mention. Upon the death, by treachery, of Geoffrey Martel,

a man of great excellence, the eldest son of this Fulco, count of Anjou, the second son (Fulco by name) succeeded; he was the issue of another wife, named Berta, who was the sister of Amauri, count of Evreux. At a later period, he married the daughter of Elias, count of Mans, and with her he had a grant of that comté. She made him the father of two sons, Geoffrey Martel, of whom we have said a few words a short way back, and Elias, and as many daughters; one of whom married Terric, count of Flanders. On the death of his wife, he went to Jerusalem, where he married the second daughter of king Baldwin, (who had died a short time previously;) and so he became the third king of Jerusalem: for when the city of Jerusalem was taken by the Christians, its first governor was duke Geoffrey, the brother of Eustace, count of Boulogne; but out of reverence to our Redeemer, who had worn a crown of thorns in that city for our sins, he constantly refused to bear the imperial diadem. Upon his death, his brother Baldwin became the first king; and he was succeeded by his nephew, the second of that name: and he, as we have stated, was in turn succeeded by Fulco, count of Anjou, who married his daughter.

The third of the daughters of William the Conqueror was named Adelidis; and she had been betrothed to the traitor Harold, before the English war; but when he died the death which he had so well deserved, she also died, without having been married, but after having attained a marriageable estate.

The fourth, called Adela, married Stephen, count of Blois, by whom she had four sons, William, Theobald, Henry, and Stephen, and one daughter. The eldest, William, received from his father the honour of Sorei. Henry, count of Eu, the son of count William, married his daughter, although they were nearly related by blood; and they had three sons and one daughter. Tetbald (a man to be praised in every relation of life, although a layman, and one who venerated and cherished men of religion with the greatest regard) succeeded his father in the comté of Blois; he also obtained possession of that of Troyes, which he purchased from his uncle Hugh, and that of Chartres. He married[1] the daughter of a certain count of Behania, by whom he had a large family of sons and daughters. His brother Henry, from his youth, was a monk of Cluny; and afterwards, when his uncle Henry became king of England, he received from him a gift of the abbey of Glastonbury; and, later still, the bishopric of Winchester. The same king made Stephen count of Mortain; and, with his approbation, he married Matilda, the daughter of Eustace, count of Boulogne,—the niece, that is to say, of the second Matilda, the queen of England, through her sister Mary. And as this Eustace had no son, Stephen by this means obtained not only the comté of Boulogne, through his wife, but also he became the heir to those immense possessions in England which had belonged to his father-in-law. By her he had many sons and daughters. After the decease of his uncle, king Henry, this Stephen was made king of the English; for when that

[1] In A. D. 1126, he married Matilda, the daughter of Engelbert, the marquis of Juliers; see Albericus Trium-Fontium, ad. an., ap. Bouquet, xiii. 696.

king died in Normandy, his daughter Matilda, who was formerly the empress, and whom he had previously appointed the heiress of his kingdom, was at that time resident in the district of Anjou, with her husband, duke Geoffrey, and their children. She had left Normandy shortly before her father's death, with whom she had a slight disagreement, because that king refused to be reconciled to William Talvace, although she had been most earnest with him in her petitions to this effect. But this his refusal was not from any disregard to his beloved daughter; but he thought that his influence would be weakened with this William, and the rest of his chief men, if he thus easily and speedily forgave the injury.

Chap. XXXV.—How Roger de Montgomery was born of one of the Nieces of the Countess Gonnor; and of the Ancestors of this Roger.

The mother of this William, the son of Robert de Bellesme, was the daughter of Wido, count of Ponthieu; this Robert was detested by the king and all other wise men, in consequence of his excessive cruelty. Having been thrown into the prison, in which he afterwards died, king Henry took possession of that most noble town of his, called Bellesme, and he gave it to his son-in-law Rotroc, count of Perch. Although this district of Bellesme should not belong to the duchy of Normandy, but to the realm of France, yet the lordship of that district had been given (or, as some persons say, sold) some time previously by Philip, king of France, to his kinsman, William the elder, the king of England and duke of Normandy. But Ivo de Bellesme, the ancestor of this Robert, was a prudent and powerful man; and it was by his advice that the first Richard was carried off from the thraldom in which he was held by the king of the French, through the instrumentality of Osmund,[1] the youth's esquire. The son of this Ivo was William de Bellesme, whose son, also named William and surnamed Talvace, was the father of Mabel. Count Roger, the son of Hugh de Montgomery, married this Mabel, and so obtained the whole of her father's inheritance, which he held either in the district of Bellesme or in that of Semie,[2] beyond the river Sarthe. The mother of this Roger was one of the nieces of the countess Gunnor; in consequence of which he had immense possessions in the various districts of Normandy. By this Mabel he became the father of five sons and four daughters. This Robert de Bellesme was succeeded by his son, a man thoroughly abandoned; whose son, William Talvace, his issue by a daughter of Wido, count of Ponthieu, as we have already mentioned, was his successor. By his wife Ala (whose former husband was the duke of Burgundy) this Talvace had two sons and as many daughters. The eldest of these sons, Wido, became count of Ponthieu during the life of his father. One of his daughters married Juhell, the son of Walter de Mortoin, by whom he had several sons. The second of them became the wife of the

[1] See the story in Wilh. Gemetic. l. III. cap. iv. (ed. Camden, 625.)

[2] . . . "En Seonnois, comme oultre l'eaue de Sarte," Chronique de Normandie, ap. Bouq. xiii. 254.

third William de Warren, earl of Surrey. This Roger[1] de Montgomery was present at the English battle, and received from William, king of the English, a grant of the counties of Arundel and Shropshire.

CHAP. XXXVI.—AN ACCOUNT OF HOW THIS GONNOR BECAME THE WIFE OF THE FIRST RICHARD, DUKE OF NORMANDY.

HAVING been led to make mention of this countess Gunnor, in consequence of having had occasion to write about the mother of Roger de Montgomery, who was the niece of this same countess, it seems a fitting opportunity for recording (what I have heard from old people) how this Gunnor came to be married to count Richard. So, then, this count Richard having heard reports about the beauty of the wife of a certain forester who resided, at no great distance from the town of Arques, in a village called Schechevilla,[2] he went (intentionally) to hunt there, wishing to judge for himself whether the accounts which he had heard from several informants were true. Having taken up his abode in the house of the forester, he was so enchanted with his wife's beauty that he informed his entertainer that he must that night sleep with his wife Sainfria, for that was the woman's name; and commanded that she should be brought to his bed. In sorrowful mood the man carried the intelligence to his wife; but, like a wise woman as she was, she comforted him by telling him that she would place her sister, instead of herself, in the count's bed; the name of the damsel was Gunnor, and she was much more beautiful than her married sister: and this was actually done. When the cheat was detected, the count felt grateful that he had not transgressed by lying with another man's wife. By this Gunnor he had three sons, and as many daughters; as you may find above in the book[3] which narrates the exploits of the same duke.

When this count proposed to make his son Robert archbishop of Rouen, he was met by some people with the objection that, according to the laws of the canons, he could not possibly do this, because his mother was not a married woman; and this led the count Richard to make the countess Gunnor his wife, like a Christian. While the marriage service was being performed, the children, who had already been born to them, were covered with the pall, along with their parents; and after this, Robert became archbishop of Rouen.

CHAP. XXXVII.—HOW THIS SAME COUNTESS GAVE HER SISTERS AND NIECES IN MARRIAGE TO THE MOST NOBLE OF THE NORMANS, AND OF THEIR ISSUE.

BESIDES her sister Sainfria, this Gunnor had two others, Wevia and Duvelina; the latter of whom, through the good management of her sister, the countess, who was a woman of the greatest dis-

[1] See Dugd. Baron. i. 26.

[2] Possibly the present Sasseville, near Cany, in the district mentioned in the text.

[3] Reference is here made to Wilh. Gemetic. lib. III. cap. xviii. (ed. Camden, p. 631.)

cretion, became the wife of Turolf de Pont-Audemer, who was the son of one Torf, who has left his name with certain villages which, to the present day, are called Torfvillæ.[1] The brother of this Turulf was Turchetill, the father of Anschetill de Harecurt. By her this same Turulf had Humfrey de Vetulis, the father of Roger de Beaumont. The third of Gunnor's sisters became the wife of Osborn de Bolebec, by whom he had the first Walter Gifford, and Geoffrey, the father of William de Archis. This William became the father of Matilda, who married William the chamberlain of Tancarville, whose issue by Matilda, a son called Rabell, succeeded him. The Walter whom we have just mentioned, took to wife one of the daughters of Girard Flatell; the second of them, named Basilia, being the widow of Ralph de Wacei, became the second wife of Hugh de Gournai; about whose family and issue we have said something already. This Walter was the father of Walter Gifford the second, and several daughters; one of whom, Rohais by name, married Richard, the son of count Gislebert; which Gislebert was the son of Geoffrey, count of Eu, the natural son of the first Richard, duke of the Normans. This Gislebert had two sons, the Richard already mentioned, and Baldwin. Baldwin had three sons, Richard, Robert, and William, and as many daughters. By Rohais, Richard, Baldwin's brother, had four sons, Gislebert, Roger, Walter, and Robert, and two daughters; the second of whom married Ralph de Telgeriis, and their issue were Fransuato, Henry and Robert Gifford. Gislebert succeeded to the land which his father had held in England; and that which had belonged to him in Normandy passed into the possession of his brother Roger. This Gislebert had three sons by the daughter of the count of Clermont; namely, Richard, who succeeded him, Gislebert, and Walter, and one daughter, called Rohais. Richard married the sister of earl Ralph the younger, earl of Chester, and had three sons, Gislebert, who succeeded him, and his brothers. This Richard died an untimely death, having been killed by the Welshmen who, when they heard of the decease of king Henry, rose in fierce rebellion against the English. His uncles, Roger and Walter, having died without issue, Gislebert, the son of Gislebert, took possession of their lands, which descended to him by hereditary right. He married Elizabeth, the sister of Waleran, count of Meulan, by whom he became the father of a son, his eldest, named Richard.[2] This is the Richard who is now earl of Pembroke, surnamed Strongbowe: and he it was who first opened up Ireland to the English. To Robert, the son of Richard, succeeded his eldest son, whose mother was one of the daughters of Waltheof, count of Huntingdon. This Waltheof had three daughters by his wife, the daughter of the countess of Albemarle; which countess was the sister, by the mother's side, of William the elder, the king of the English.

[1] For instance, Tourville, a little to the south of Pont-Audemer, and Tourville, between Bec-Hellouin and Louviers. There is a third of the same name between Pont-Audemer and the seaport of Toucques, and a fourth between Pont de l'Arche and Rouen.

[2] This sentence occurs in the margin of Camden's text. It does not appear from what manuscript copy (if any) it is derived.

Simon de Senlis married the eldest of these daughters of earl Waltheof, and received the county of Huntingdon along with her; and by her he had one son, called Simon. On the death of this Simon his widow took to her second husband David, the brother of the second Matilda, the queen of the English, by whom she had one son, called Henry. Upon the death of his brothers, Dudecan and Alexander, the kings of Scotland, this same individual took possession of that throne. The second of them, Judith by name, became the wife of Ralph de Toenei, as we have already mentioned. Robert Fitz Richard, of whom we shall presently have occasion to speak, married the third.

Having thus given the history of the countess Gunnor's sisters, we may as well add a few particulars respecting those persons who were connected with her in the second degree of affinity, as we have gleaned the same from the information of our elders.

The brother of this countess was named Herfast; his son, Osbert de Crepon, Gunnor's nephew, was the father of William, earl of Hereford, a man worthy of all praise. This Gunnor had many nieces, but I have heard only of the marriages of five of them. One married the father of the first William de Warren, of whom was born that William who afterwards became earl of Surrey, and his brother, Roger de Mortimer. The second was the wife of Nicholas de Bascherville, from whom William Martel and Walter de St. Martin are descended. The third married Richard, viscount of Rouen, the father of Lambert de St. Sidon. The fourth took to her husband Osmund Centville, the viscount of Vernon, by whom she had issue Fulco de Anei the first, and several daughters, one of whom was the mother of the first Baldwin de Rivers. Hugh de Montgomery married the fifth, and had by her Roger, the father of Robert de Bellesme.

Chap. XXXVIII.—How it was that Stephen, Count of Mortain, the Nephew of King Henry, succeeded him in the Realm.

But to return to the point from which these pedigrees have caused us to digress. On the death of Henry, king of England, his nephew Stephen succeeded him in that same month in which he died. The count was residing in the comté of Boulogne when he heard of the death of his uncle; and crossing over into England with all speed, he obtained possession of the crown of the realm, by the assistance of his brother Henry, bishop of Winchester. We have already[1] mentioned, that at this juncture, Matilda, the king's heir, was in the district of Anjou. She obtained possession, however, of three of her father's castles, Domfront, Argenton, and Exmes, as well as three others, Chaumont, Goron, and Ambrieres, which, in the meantime, she gave to Juhell de Mortain, upon the condition that he would faithfully assist her in obtaining possession of her inheritance; for this, Juhell affirmed that these three towns which we have last named were in his land.

The daughter of that Adela, of whom we have already spoken

[1] See chap. xxxiv. p. 30.

among the issue of William, king of the English, married William, earl of Chester, the son of earl Hugh, which Hugh was the son of Richard, viscount of the district of Avranches; but as this Richard and his wife both perished along with William the son of king Henry, in the shipwreck to which we have so frequently alluded already, Ralph, viscount of Le Vexin, the cousin of that Richard, obtained possession of his comté. When this Ralph died, his son Ralph succeeded him, who was a good soldier. Richard Fitz Gislebert married the sister of this Ralph, by whom he had three sons. And, in conclusion (as we have already mentioned), this Richard was killed by the Welsh. The Ralph, earl of Chester, of whom we have spoken above, took to wife Matilda, the daughter of Robert, earl of Gloucester, by whom she had two sons, Hugh and Richard.

CHAP. XXXIX.—HOW ADELA, COUNTESS OF BLOIS, ASSUMED THE DRESS AND EMBRACED THE LIFE OF A NUN, AT MARCIGNY, DURING THE TIME OF PETER, THE LORD ABBOT OF CLUNY; AND HOW SHE DIED IN THE SECOND YEAR AFTER THE DECEASE OF HER BROTHER HENRY.

ON the death of Stephen, count of Blois, his widow, Adela, the daughter of William, king of England, for a time ruled his comté (and that very efficiently), because her sons were still too young to undertake the cares of government. But when they grew up she assumed the dress and conversation of a nun in the abbey of Marcigny,[1] in which she continued until the end of her life. This occurred when Peter was abbot of Cluny. She deceased in the second year after the death of her brother Henry, king of England.

CHAP. XL.—OF THE VIOLENT STORM OF WIND WHICH OCCURRED BEFORE THE DEATH OF KING HENRY; AND HOW IT HAPPENED THAT MANY OF THE ENGLISH NOBILITY DIED IN THE SAME YEAR AS KING HENRY, OR IN THE FOLLOWING.

IN the same year in which king Henry was removed from this world there occurred a terrible tempest of wind in Normandy and in many other countries; this happened on the vigil of the apostles Simon and Jude,[2] shortly before his death. And not long after his death, that is, either in that same year or in the following, many of the chief men of England died by God's judgment, namely, William, archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Rochester, and the bishop[3] of Exeter; Richard Fitz Gislebert (as we have already mentioned), Robert Fitz Richard, his uncle, and Richard Fitz Baldwin, the cousin of those two whom we have last named, and also the second William de Warren, the earl of Surrey. He was succeeded by his son, the third William, whose mother, Elizabeth, was the issue of Hugh, the great count of Virmandois. The first husband of this countess had been Robert, count of Meulant, by whom she had three sons and as many daughters.

[1] See Gall. Christ. iv. 486.

[2] That is, on the 27th of October. Henry died during the night of first of December following.

[3] He died on the 22d of June, 1137; Hardy's Le Neve, ii. 558.

Chap. XLI.—Of the Sons of Robert, Count of Meulant, and of the Sons of his Brother, Henry, Earl of Warwick.

He was succeeded by his sons, Walleran and Robert, who were twins. The first born, Walleran, had the comté of Meulant, and the land of which their father was possessed in Normandy: Robert succeeded to the earldom of Leicester in England. On the death of her first husband, their mother married the second William de Warren, earl of Surrey, by whom she had one son, the third William, and two daughters. The eldest of these daughters was married to Roger, earl of Warwick; this Roger was the son of the count Henry, the brother of Robert, count of Meulant, whose mother was Margaret, the sister of Rotroc, count of Perch. By her he had issue Henry, and several other sons and two daughters. This Roger, already mentioned, succeeded his father in the earldom of Warwick. One of his brothers, who was born after himself, namely, Robert de Neufbourg, was possessed of the lands which had belonged to their father in Normandy. This Robert was a close friend and benefactor to the church of Bec. He took to wife the sister of Roger de Toeni, whose name was Godchilda; she was the daughter of the second Ralph; and by her he had several sons, namely, Henry and his brothers.

Chap. XLII.—Of the Death of Boso, Abbot of Bec, and of his Successor.

About this time died[1] our lord Boso, the fourth abbot of Bec, a man of worthy praise in every relation of life; he was succeeded by Tetbald, the prior of the same place. Shortly after this, William, duke of Aquitaine, died; and his eldest daughter—carrying with her the possession of the duchy—became the wife of Louis, the son of the king of the French. This king Louis died on the kalends of August [1st Aug.], in the same year (namely, A.D. 1137); the younger Louis became king of France and duke of Aquitaine. In this year there was a great drought. In the same year died Lothaire, the emperor of the Romans and Germans, and his successor was Corrad, the nephew of the fourth Henry, who had been emperor before Lothaire.

Chap. XLIII.

Having briefly touched upon a few particulars connected with the history of this renowned king Henry rather than having exhausted them, we think it well to append the account of a certain miracle, no less instructive than wonderful, by which we are compelled to return to the thread of our discourse.

The humility of Rollo's character, after the period when he embraced the faith of Christ, may be understood by the following incident:—Upon one occasion, after his pacification with the king of France, the men of Rouen came to him, and entreated him to cause the body of St. Ouen[2] to be carried back again from France; for it had been conveyed thither for fear of him, before he had

[1] He died on the 24th of June, 1136; Gall. Christ. xi. 228.
[2] See Gall. Christ. xi. 15.

conquered Normandy. "We are sorrowful," said they, "and grieved at heart because we have lost our archbishop." When he heard this, the count sent a message to the king of France, asking that his priest might be restored to him; and he assured him that if he refused there should not be any peace between them. Unwilling to cause him any annoyance herewith, he sent him back his priest, as he had desired. So the duke gave orders that, on its restoration, the body of St. Ouen should be replaced in the church, from which it had been removed. So the monks who had had it in charge whilst it was in France, reconveyed it as far as a certain village one mile distant from the city of Rouen. When they arrived there, worn out with the length of the journey, they remained there all night, determining to awake by the dawn of the morning, and then proceed to carry St. Ouen to his own proper resting-place. But when they did arise up early in the morning, intending to carry him to the city, they found they could not do this. Exceedingly grieved at the incident which had befallen them, they despatched a message to the citizens, to the effect that they could not by any means stir the body of St. Ouen from the spot on which it had rested that night. When the count, who happened to be at Rouen at this time, heard the intelligence, he remarked that this misfortune about the body of St. Ouen had befallen them deservedly; for if they had acted rightly, and had exhibited a good judgment in the matter, they would have gone out in procession and have met it with great respect. The count then gave directions to the archbishop and all the people of Rouen, that they should accompany him to St. Ouen, clothed in woollen garments and barefoot, and that they should entreat his pity with all possible devotion; that he would not punish them for their folly and neglect, but would be merciful to them, and permit himself to be removed from that place into the city in which he had been archbishop. The duke set the example, and himself did what he had commanded others to do; clothed in a woollen garment and barefooted, he went to the village in which St. Ouen was resting. Having arrived there, he, and all the people who accompanied him, threw themselves prostrate before his bier, and uttered this prayer:—"O St. Ouen, O good archbishop, our patron, permit your body to be translated into the city in which you discharged the functions of a bishop, and have often given the holy benedictions; and I give to you and to your church the whole of the land which extends from this spot to the walls of the city." Immediately the count and the people with the greatest ease raised on their shoulders the bier on which was laid the holy body, and thus they carried it to the church triumphing and rejoicing. From this circumstance it is that some people call that village "Longum Planum,"[1] because the count took such a long walk as that thither with naked feet. Should any one deny that this occurrence is a sign of great humility, I venture to affirm that this objector does not know what great humility really is.

[1] Perhaps St. Ouen de la Londe; but the distance considerably exceeds a mile from Rouen.

CHAP. XLIV.

ANOTHER incident is reported to have happened to the same count at the time when he first came to terms of agreement with the French king. Upon a certain day when this duke was at Rouen, it happened that the men whose houses stood upon the banks of the river Seine were collected outside their doors in the evening. As they stood there, looking towards the river, they saw a horseman crossing over the river, as if it were upon dry land, and coming towards them. No little astonished herewith, they began to inquire of him, on his arrival, who he was, and where he was going? "You may perceive," said he, "that I am a living man; and this day, early in the morning, I left Rennes, in Brittany; I had something to eat at Avranches, at the sixth hour; and here I have arrived, as you see, at vespers. If you do not believe me, go; and in the house in which I dined you will find my knife, which I carelessly forgot there." Then they sent intelligence of what had occurred to the count, who, as I have stated, was in the city at this time, telling him about the man who had thus crossed over the waters unhurt. Hearing this unusual occurrence, the count gave orders that, before he departed, the man should come to speak with him. The stranger returned for answer that the count might expect a visit from him very early on the morrow; but in the morning he arose betimes, and went on his way, without having had any conversation with the count. When the count heard that he had gone, he said that he had lied to him, and that therefore he believed that he was some phantom who intended thus to delude them; but some of the persons who were present observed that, in their opinion, he had not lied, for the message which he sent to the count had reference to his own morning, and not to that by which the count reckoned; for his dawn was much earlier than the count's, and therefore what he said was true. As the man was sitting that night by the fire in the house where he was lodged, his entertainer asked him many questions, chiefly about the count, and whether that family would long continue; to which inquiries he replied in the affirmative, adding that they should nobly continue in the dukedom until the seventh generation. The landlord then inquired what would occur after the seventh generation, to which he gave no answer, but with a piece of wood which he was holding in his hand he began to draw, as it were, furrows among the ashes on the hearth. The inquirer becoming more urgent in his questioning, which he repeated, he then blended together into one, with the stick, the furrows which he had previously made among the ashes. Hence some people think that after the seventh generation, this duchy will either become extinct, or that it will suffer from great tribulations or disputes. We who survive this seventh generation, and who have seen it expire in the person of king Henry, the seventh of the family, perceive the fulfilment of this saying. The first of the pedigree was Rollo; the second was his son, William Longsword; Richard, the son of this William, was the third; and his son Richard was the fourth; Robert, the son of Richard, was

the fifth; William, the son of Robert, who held not only Normandy but England also, was the sixth; and in the seventh place came his sons, the only one of whom who possessed Normandy and England at the time of his death was this Henry.

Chap. XLV.

By means of the treaty which was made between the Franks and the Northmen during the time of this first Richard, on occasion of the delivery of Louis, king of the Franks, who had been taken prisoner by the Northmen, the Danes extended their possessions in Normandy from the river called the Andelle to that called the Epte; but others say that it was from the Epte to the Isere. In that treaty it was further agreed to, that the count of Normandy should do no service to the king of France for the land of Normandy; nor should he do him any other service, unless the king of France should give him such a fief in France as would imply the performance of service. In consequence whereof, the count of Normandy renders to the king of France nothing more than homage and fealty for Normandy during his life, and for his worldly honour.

Chap. XLVI.

In like manner, the king of France does fealty to the count of Normandy for his life, and for the honour of his temporalities. And there is no distinction between them, except this; that the king of France does no homage to the count of Normandy, as the count of Normandy does to the king of France. The Danes of that time obtained this liberty for their relatives the counts of Normandy.

Chap. XLVII.

It is reported of Richard, the son of the first Richard, that he was the father of his country, and chiefly of the monks. During the whole of his time Normandy abounded with every blessing; and it enjoyed such profound peace at that time, that none of the carters dared to carry home to their own houses, out of the fields, the iron gear belonging to their carts; and if any were stolen, the count ordered that the loser should come to him, and he would restore the value of whatever had been carried off. There was then a recurrence to the state of things which had existed during the time of his great-grandfather Rollo. For the wife of a certain carrier having heard of the duke's injunctions, she one day stole a coulter and ploughshare, wishing to discover what the count would do upon the occasion. The husbandman, when he returned to his cart on the morrow and missed his tools, came to the count and reported what had happened. The duke commanded that he should be indemnified for his loss; and on his return home he told his wife what had occurred. She replied that it was an excellent arrangement, for the husband had the money, and the wife had the tools. Resolved to act honourably, the man carried back to

the count the sum which he had received from him, and told him what his wife had done. The count kept him engaged for a little while, and during the meantime he sent an order that the woman's eyes should be plucked out as a punishment for the theft. On his return home, the rustic found his wife suffering her deserved punishment; and in his anger he said to her, "Do not steal any more, and henceforth learn to obey the count's orders."

This count was a liberal benefactor, in lands and ornaments, to the church of Fécamp, which had been built by his father, the first Richard. It was his usage there to spend nearly every Easter festival along with his court; and at times, during that solemnity, he and his wife were accustomed to carry in a vessel filled with books, crosses, candlesticks, and other ornaments, which were covered with a precious cloth; and this they used to place before the altar of the Holy Trinity, and to offer it to God for their sins. And upon that day, after mass ended, before he went to his own court, there to feast with his barons, he and his two sons, Richard and Robert, used to go into the monks' refectory, and there these two youths, taking baskets from the window of the kitchen, just as the monks do, presented them to their father; and then he with his own hands placed the first dishes before the abbot, and then before the monks. Having done this, he came before the abbot with the greatest humility; and having received from him licence to depart, he returned to his own court happy and joyful. At times he sent to the abbot, from his own table, a silver dish filled with fish, and told him that he should keep it, and do with it as he liked.

This Richard was a liberal benefactor not only to the church of Fécamp, but to other churches also. Having one day arrived at Jumiège, he spent the night there. When he arose in the morning he went to the monastery to pray, as his custom always was; and after prayer he placed a latchet upon the altar, and then went his way. On his departure, those who had the charge of the altar came to it, expecting to find on it either a mark of gold, or an ounce, or something of the kind. When they found only a latchet, they wondered what it might signify. At length they asked him for an explanation why it was that he had placed this upon the altar. Then he answered, that it conveyed to the monastery a certain manor, which he gave them for the good of his soul.

MAY THE SOULS OF THE DUKES OF NORMANDY, AND OF ALL THE FAITHFUL, REPOSE IN PEACE. AMEN.

THE ACTS OF STEPHEN, KING OF ENGLAND AND DUKE OF NORMANDY.

THE ACTS OF STEPHEN, KING OF ENGLAND AND DUKE OF NORMANDY.

BOOK THE FIRST.

After king Henry, the peace of the nation, and the father of his people, had ended his days, and paid the debt of nature, that sorrowful and untoward event threw a gloom over the whole face of the country, and occasioned the most utter confusion and turmoil. For whereas under his rule it was the fountain-head of equity and the abode of law, upon his death it became the seed-plot of all manner of injustice, warfare, and strife. England, indeed, where aforetime Justice found her seat, and Peace her dwelling-place, where religion was mirrored, and piety was supreme, became thereafter a place of frowardness, a den of discord, an example of disquietude, and a teacher of all rebellion. The sacred covenants of inviolable friendship were straightway broken down among the people; the closest ties of reciprocal agreement were severed; and they who had long been clothed with the robe of peace were assailed by the clash of arms, and the maddening strife of war. Every one seemed to be carried away by a new and strange lust of cruelty, raging one against another with insane and savage fury, and accounting their renown to be so much the greater in proportion as they inflicted injury upon the innocent and unoffending. The decrees and enactments of law, whereby an undisciplined people are restrained, being altogether neglected, nay, rather, utterly set at nought, an unbridled licentiousness in everything was the result, and whatever villainy came into their heads was carried into execution without the least delay. For, to use the words of prophecy,[1] from the sole of the foot even unto the head there was no soundness in them: since from the least even unto the greatest, as men who were sick with a disease of the soul, they were either guilty of the basest violence themselves, or were consenting and approving parties to its commission. Even the beasts of chase, which formerly were preserved throughout the whole country in the utmost security, as though they had been enclosed within the toils of a net, were now disturbed on every side, dispersed in all directions by any one that listed, and struck down by every man without any fear. This was a loss, indeed, of minor importance, and not one to cause much lamentation; but it was, nevertheless, a very astonishing circumstance how so many

[1] See Isa. i. 6.

thousand wild animals, which but a while before had overspread the whole country with their numerous and mighty herds, should all on a sudden have been exterminated; so that out of such an innumerable swarm you could afterwards scarcely find two together. When at length this great and untold multitude began to be so far diminished that the sight of a single wild beast in any place became, as the phrase is, a *rarissima avis*, they barbarously directed their rage against themselves, and began to plunder one another; every man in his turn seizing forcibly upon his neighbour's possessions, and mutually laying snares for each other's destruction; and, as it is said by the prophet,[1] "Every man began to fight without mercy against his brother, and every one against his neighbour." For, laying hold upon the time of vengeance, whatever wickedness had been suggested in time of peace by the goadings of passion was now carried into execution as speedily as possible; things which the odiousness of private animosity and malice had hitherto concealed within its own bosom, being now publicly disclosed and proclaimed in the light of day.

While the English meanwhile continued in this turbulent and lamentable state, and, unrestrained by the reins of justice, broke out without fear into every kind of wickedness, Stephen, count of Boulogne, a man distinguished for his illustrious lineage, landed in England with a few companions. Of all the nephews of Henry, the peace-loving king, this prince was the one who was dearest to him; not solely because he was united to him by such near ties of consanguinity and kindred, but also because he was especially remarkable for the manifold lustre of his virtues. He was rich, and (what is a very rare qualification among the rich of our times) he was also humble, munificent, and easy of access: in all warlike encounters, however—as, for example, in besieging his enemies—he was alike adventurous and brave, discreet and patient. This eminent individual, therefore, so soon as the report reached him that king Henry had breathed his last, devising in his heart, like Saul of old, some mighty scheme to be accomplished when he should set foot on the opposite shore, made his way to the sea-coast; and being favoured by fortune with a prosperous breeze, his thoughts, as well as the sails of his vessel, were bent in the direction of England. Immediately on landing, attended, as has been above stated, by a very small retinue, he made a hasty march to London, the metropolis and queen of the whole country. His arrival was the signal for a general movement, the whole city rushing out to meet him with a joyous shout; and the place which was even then bewailing and lamenting the sorrowful event which had deprived it of the protecting arm of Henry, demonstrated the utmost joy and gladness, as though in the person of Stephen it had regained its defender. Those who were most eminent for age and wisdom then assembled a council; and with a view, as they conceived, to the general good, as it regarded the state of the kingdom, they combined with one accord to choose him as their sovereign. For they alleged that the whole realm was exposed to the risk of

[1] See Isa. xix. 2.

the most untoward reverses of fortune, when the power of the whole government was prostrate, and the fountain-head of justice was no longer to be seen. It became a matter, therefore, of great importance to pitch upon a king as quickly as possible, who, in order to the re-establishment of peace, and for the general good of all, should take up arms to put a stop to the proceedings of the rebels, and administer with justice the laws and institutions of the kingdom. And also, that it was a thing which of right belonged to them, and one of their special privileges, if death should in any wise deprive them of their king, to make provision themselves for the immediate appointment of a successor to the vacant throne. Moreover, that they had no one in readiness to supply the place of the king, and to put an end to the great perils which beset the realm, save only this Stephen, brought amongst them, as it seemed, by the will of God, and who appeared to all of them to be suitable for that office, whether they regarded the nobility of his extraction or the high endowments of his mind. These observations having been listened to, and favourably received by all present, without at least any open contradiction, they mutually agreed that he should be consulted whether he would undertake the government of the kingdom; and, with the unanimous goodwill of all upon the point, they appointed him king: a covenant being first entered into by both parties, confirmed, as the common people asserted, by a mutual oath, that the citizens should maintain him during his life out of their substance, and should defend him with all their might; he, on his part, undertaking, in compliance with their unanimous suffrages, to apply all his energies towards the restoration of peace to the kingdom.

This most fortunate event having thus put Stephen in possession both of the name and authority of royalty, he made bold and warlike preparations for the work of procuring peace to the kingdom; and bravely encountering those very robbers who had so grievously laid waste the surrounding province, he presently achieved for himself a distinguished name at the very outset of his reign. For at that time there was a certain man, who, although of low degree, inasmuch as he was but a door-keeper to king Henry, was nevertheless especially ready to do mischief, and most eager in inflicting outrage and wrong upon the poor. With a mixed body of men, partly made up of rustics, and partly of hired soldiers, he had made himself intolerable to all, causing molestation to his neighbours on every side; one while with unceasing depredations, at another with fire and sword. Stephen at length boldly advanced to meet him, and having vanquished and taken prisoner some of his band, he either slew them or put them in chains: their leader, with some others, he shut up in prison, but the gallows was their ultimate fate. A strong body of soldiers, who flocked to him from all quarters, having been speedily gathered together, Stephen then lost no time in making his way to Henry the bishop, on whom the success of his whole enterprise entirely depended; for he was his brother, a child of the same parents, and a man as remarkable for his discretion and prudence, as he was distinguished

for eloquence. Good fortune smiled upon his every wish, seeing that he was both abbot of Glastonbury and bishop of Winchester, and had been enthroned by the apostolic see as legate throughout the whole realm of England. He therefore, rejoicing greatly at his brother's prosperous success, came out to meet him, attended by the principal citizens of Winchester; and after a brief and familiar conversation, he introduced him with all honourable observance into that city, which ranks second, at any rate, as the abode of royalty.

There was, at this time, in the city of Winchester, a certain person named William, a very trusty guardian of the treasures of king Henry, and controller, who was very often beset with entreaties by the bishop, and wrought upon by the offer of a bribe, to deliver up the castle into his hands, and to unlock the treasures. But the more eager the one was to make the request, the more inclined did the other appear to deny it. However, on becoming aware of the king's approach—whether moved by fear, or by love for him, I know not—he met him with congratulation and welcome, and placed at his disposal, along with the castle, the overflowing exchequer of king Henry, which, from the time of her most ancient kings, all England had contributed abundantly to replenish. Fame thereupon proclaiming throughout the kingdom the tidings of the new king's arrival, numbers strove in every way to comply with the least expression of his will, receiving him with joy and delight, especially such as had bound themselves by the ties of friendship either to him or his brothers, previous to his acceptance of the kingly power. Amongst others, William, archbishop of Canterbury, presented himself—a man whose countenance had the gentleness of a dove, and who was truly religious in his demeanour; but he showed greater eagerness to keep possession of the wealth which he had acquired, than readiness in its distribution. For when at last death came, and he departed this life, the king's administrators found an enormous amount of treasure secretly laid up in his coffers; which had he bestowed during his lifetime in bounteous almsdeeds (following the example of the man in the gospel, who, making to himself friends of the mammon of unrighteousness, dispersed abroad therefore, and gave unto the poor, that his righteousness might remain for ever), in such case he would have more fully come up to the perfection of the pastoral character. When the partizans of Stephen used most earnest persuasion to induce the archbishop to anoint him king, so that any apparent deficiency might be supplied by his administration of that solemnity, he withstood their entreaties in a reply which had some show of reason; asserting that it was a thing which ought not to be done either hastily or inconsiderately; it being a question which ought to be well ventilated, and discussed, and investigated in all its bearings by the whole assembly, with the utmost carefulness, discretion, and wisdom, as to whether it should be performed or no. "For," said he, "seeing that a king is chosen for this end, namely, that he may bear rule over all, and is the elect of his empire, that he may impose laws upon all, it surely stands

to reason that his establishment upon the throne should be the common act of all, and that all, with one consent, should make provision as to what was to be resolved upon, or what rejected." He added also that king Henry, while he was yet alive, had bound the chief men of his kingdom, under a most solemn oath, not to raise any one to the throne, after his decease, except his daughter, whom he had given in marriage to the count of Anjou, or her heir, in the event of his being the survivor: and that it was, therefore, a presumptuous act to be desirous of attempting any course of action which should be contrary to such decree; especially since his daughter had outlived him, and should not be deprived of her hereditary honour. To these arguments the king's adherents replied with calmness, and said, "It is true, and may not be denied, that king Henry affianced his daughter with the politic intent and purpose of establishing peace upon a more firm and stable foundation between the inhabitants of Normandy and Anjou, who were so frequently in a state of dissension and turmoil. Moreover, the oath which the nobles of the realm swore, to establish her as his successor, was rather the result of compulsion than of argument, being forced upon them by the thunder of that imperious voice which no one ever thought of resisting. And although he knew beforehand that they took the oath against their will, and that it would not be admitted to be binding upon them, he was nevertheless desirous, after the manner of Ezechiel, to re-establish peace in his days, and by the marriage of one woman alone to cement the union of many thousands of men. And, as we would openly avow, it would not have pleased him that a course of action, which, for certain reasons, was satisfactory to him in his lifetime, should continue fixed and irrevocable after his decease; seeing that there were very many present when he was in his last agonies who heard him make a true confession of his faults, and express his penitence in the most unreserved manner for having violently imposed that oath upon his barons. Wherefore, since it is well known that any oath which is forcibly extorted from an individual may be broken without incurring the stain of perjury, it is a wise course, and one to be especially approved, gladly to raise to the throne him whom London, the metropolis of the whole kingdom, has without opposition received as king, and who presents himself with peculiar fitness by the just right of near consanguinity. And we have further the assurance of a confident hope, that in receiving this man, and doing all in our power to assist him, we shall be of the greatest advantage to the kingdom at large: for since, at the present time, the country is ravaged and torn, and trodden under foot of all, it is obvious that, at the first commencement of such disastrous events, the presence of a resolute and warlike prince may have the effect of bringing things back to a better state; and his dignity being enhanced by the influence of his friends and the renown of his wise brothers, their powerful support will enable him to supply any deficiencies which might be conceived to exist in his own person."

The force of these arguments, and some others which, for the

sake of brevity, I omit, prevailed with the archbishop; and, assisted by the bishops and a great number of the clergy who were present, he consecrated and anointed Stephen king over England and Normandy. These facts at length becoming known, and the report of them quickly spreading, and forming the subject of common discourse throughout England, almost all the nobility of the kingdom received him with gladness and much reverence; and as he made them many rich presents, and increased their possessions by considerable grants of land, they freely bound themselves by oath to give themselves entirely up to his service, and so proffered him their fealty. Amongst their number was Robert, earl of Gloucester, a son of king Henry, but illegitimate; a man of allowed capacity and of commendable discretion. For it is said, that on being advised, at the death of his father, to take the reins of power into his own hand, he would in nowise consent, having predetermined upon a more prudent course, saying that it was a more upright proceeding to yield up the kingdom to the son of his sister, to whom it more justly appertained, than presumptuously to usurp it for himself. After being repeatedly summoned by the royal commands and missives, he at length made his appearance, and was most graciously and favourably received; and whatever he demanded, on doing homage to the king, he obtained according to his desire; and being finally reconciled, almost the whole realm of England followed the king.

Stephen then, accompanied by a large body of troops, made a splendid progress through England, in a manner befitting the regal state and dignity, accepting, with benign and gracious demeanour, the homage of those who submitted to his rule. In all the churches, both of regulars and seculars, in the cities also, and in the castles, he was received with joyous welcome; and to all who preferred a request for things of which they were in need, he yielded a condescending and courteous attention. His endeavours were principally directed to the re-establishment of peace in the kingdom, and for the restoration of concord among his subjects; to whom he made most liberal grants, expending no little labour and treasure to promote peace, not in England alone, but in Wales also.

Wales is a country consisting chiefly of woodland and pasture ground, closely bordering upon England, lying stretched along one side thereof toward the sea. Wild deer and fish are very plentiful, and it abounds also in flocks and herds; but produces men of brutish natures, irascible by nature, and habitually quarrelsome, always changeable, both as regards their loyalty and their dwelling-places. After the Normans had engaged in hostilities, and brought England under subjection to them, they made their intention of bringing this adjoining territory under their yoke, sufficiently obvious by the erection of innumerable castles; and having subdued the indigenous inhabitants by their vigorous arm, they resolutely commenced the work of cultivation, imposed laws and statutes upon them for the maintenance of tranquillity, and brought the country into such a state of general fruitfulness and

plenty, that it was reckoned in no degree inferior to the most fertile part of Britain. However, when king Henry died, the concord and peace of the kingdom were buried in his grave, and the Welsh, always breathing deadly hatred against their masters, broke through every article of the treaty which they had entered into with them; for issuing forth in bands from various quarters, they carried hostilities first in one direction and then in another, scouring the country, and ravaging it with fire and sword; laying waste the villages, burning the houses, and slaying the inhabitants. They first of all moved forward an army in the direction of a province called Goer, which adjoins the sea, and is remarkable for its exuberant fertility and its delightful situation; and hemming in on every side a body of troops who were gathered together in close array to oppose them, consisting of knights and foot-soldiers to the number of five hundred and sixteen, they overthrew them utterly with the edge of the sword. Highly congratulating themselves on the prosperous result which followed their commencement of strife, they then daringly spread themselves over the whole face of Wales; moreover, being bent upon deeds of villany, and ever ready to commit any unlawful act, they spared neither old nor young, and showed no reverence for any order,—neither time nor place affording any immunity from their wickedness. When, however, the news of this commencement of a revolt reached the ears of the king, he attempted to curb their unbridled temerity by sending a body of men-at-arms and archers, who were hired at a high rate of wage, to bring them into subjection. Of these, some perished there, after achieving many deeds of valour; others, after the expenditure of much labour and treasure, refusing to encounter the fierce onset of the enemy, made an inglorious retreat.

At this time there was in Wales a man named Richard Fitz-Gislebert, remarkable for his singular excellence, well supported by his kindred, and by men of great wealth, the hereditary possessor of lands and castles innumerable, who having entered into a solemn treaty with his neighbours, to the performance of which they were bound by hostages, had brought the country into such a state of peace, and rich and abundant fertility, that England, in these respects, might easily be regarded as holding a secondary position. Having preferred some request of importance to the king, which had not met with the compliance he had desired, he departed, with the intention, as it was said, of waging war against him; and as he was retracing his steps into Wales, attended by a large retinue, he fell into an ambuscade of these very Welshmen, and was lamentably slain, the rest of his company escaping. When it became generally known that the man of highest authority among the Welsh had perished, they gathered themselves together, from the different provinces, into a mighty army, and, entering into his territory, they divided themselves in perfect order, and with military skill, into three troops, and put to flight the soldiers of Richard, as well as sundry others who, to the number of three thousand, had come with a band of foot-soldiers to their assistance

from the neighbouring cities and castles, and were reconnoitering on three sides. With shouts and a shower of arrows they fiercely and vigorously pursued them; some they slew in a truly pitiable manner; others were all but drowned by being driven headlong into the river; while some they thrust into the flames of the burning houses and churches, to perish in the conflagration which they had kindled; and overrunning the whole province, which covers a space of six-and-thirty miles in extent, with their depredations, they left nought remaining in it. The aged were exposed either to death or insult; the young of both sexes they delivered over to bondage and captivity; and the women, of whatever age, they shamelessly gave up to be openly defiled. Then breaking down some of the baronial castles, and closely besieging others, they, in their turn, exercised a stern dominion over those who but a short time before had bowed their necks under the yoke of subjection. They then laid siege to a certain castle belonging to the said Richard, which was defended by fortifications of impregnable strength, within whose walls his wife, the sister of the earl of Chester, had taken refuge. She was harassed by anxiety and suffering of every kind; for being deprived of her husband's help, and unprovided with provision, she was overwhelmed with womanish despair. Shut in on all sides by the foes who environed her with their numerous body of allies, and utterly hopeless of the arrival of any succour, she was worn out with sadness and sorrow. After remaining in this condition for a great length of time, without her friends being able to render her any assistance, Milo, the governor of the city of Gloucester, (who afterwards attained to the dignity of an earl, more by the qualities of policy and wisdom which distinguished his mind than by birth and family,) went with his followers to the perilous task of her rescue; being moved thereto both by the compassionate pity which he entertained for that noble lady, and by the authority of the king, who had sent letters to him requiring him to do so; and having made his way to the castle, with great bravery, over the tops of the mountains, and through the dark recesses of the forest, in the midst of the hostile army, he brought her back in safety along with her attendants, and thus returned with victory and triumph.

The king, however, hearing that the Welsh had been gathering their forces to stir up dissension in the country, determined upon giving a further check to their foolhardy presumption; and after placing an unlimited supply of money in the hands of his ally, Baldwin, brother of the above-mentioned Richard, he charged him to lose no time in going to the relief of his brother's territory, and steadfastly to apply himself to the task of quelling the hostile parties. He then, having received the money, assembled a troop of light-armed soldiers and archers of tried bravery, to the number of five hundred, and marched in full array to the castle of Brecon. He there heard that the enemy were on their road to meet him, with an overwhelming multitude, that they had blocked up the roads with trunks of trees laid across them, and had assembled all their associates in wickedness from different quarters to their

assistance; he was struck with fear, and pursued his march no further: but remaining in that place for a length of time, until he thought the enemy would thereby be wearied out, or reduced to extremity for want of food, he gave himself entirely up to indulgence in gluttony and sloth; and having wastefully consumed the supplies he brought with him, he returned home in poverty and shame.

Robert Fitz-Herald, also, a man of very illustrious descent, was sent with the view of bringing the Welsh into subjection, and likewise for some other objects; and having oftentimes achieved there a signal triumph over the enemy, he fortified a well-nigh deserted castle on their borders with the utmost strength, and garrisoned it carefully with a body of men, who were prepared to encounter all hazards. After the performance of a number of brilliant exploits, he withdrew to England, with a small body of troops, for the purpose of recruiting his forces. The enemy, however, not a little on the alert on account of his absence, and dreading his return from that country, suddenly collected their forces into one body; and, blockading his castle for a great length of time, at length put a stop to his return, seeing that the besieged had no supplies of food, and the impetuosity of their attack prevented Robert from coming with sufficient speed to their relief.

The Welsh continuing to disturb the country in this manner, it appeared to the king that his endeavours to bring them into a state of tranquillity were completely frustrated, and that he was spending a very great amount of money to no purpose. Actuated, therefore, by a wiser policy, he preferred enduring for a little while their unbridled disloyalty, until, by the cessation of arms, and by strife and variance working a general disunion among them, they should either become a prey to famine, or, turning their arms against themselves, be brought to destruction by the slaughter of each other. And, indeed, in a short time, we saw that such was the result; for being incessantly given up to havock and plunder, the whole of the land was left untouched by the ploughshare—nay, was so destitute of men to cultivate it, that all hope of the continuance of a supply of sustenance for the future was utterly at an end. Wasted by famine and pestilence, after the death of the animals, which was the natural result of their ravages, they themselves died promiscuously, the air being corrupted by the putrefaction of the carcases. These events, which happened at different times in Wales, we have briefly glanced at, narrating them in one unbroken series, lest we should have to wander from the track of our narrative as often as any remarkable action might seem to demand a particular and special notice at our hands.

The king, then, as has been before detailed, was indefatigable in tranquillizing the kingdom and establishing peace. He showed himself accessible and courteous to all; he restored those who had been disinherited to their possessions; in the distribution of ecclesiastical honours he was altogether free from the sin of simony; and in the administration of justice, and the reception of evidence, he was not to be moved by bribery or favour. With all this, he

showed the utmost humility and reverence to all who were connected with any religious order, and was affable and yielding to both old and young. He was, indeed, of so benign and gentle a disposition as almost to forget the eminence of his regal authority, and to appear in many things not as the superior of those about him, but, in all respects, in the light of an equal—nay, sometimes even in that of an inferior. England, by degrees, returned to her former state of peace, and her wonted tranquillity; and all, through the grace of God, by Whom kings reign, were brought under his influence without any violent measures, and without having recourse to any sort of extortion, with the exception of certain of the chief favourites and more intimate friends of king Henry, whom, accustomed as they had been, from their low origin, to serve among the youths of the court, he afterwards attached to himself with extraordinary affection, to such an extent that he enriched them with munificent gifts, and rewarded them with the possession of broad lands, putting them into all the chief offices of the palace, and appointing them the authorities in all suits of court. When, therefore, these men were repeatedly admonished by the king's commission to repair to the court, and received a promise from him that the same amount of honour, and the same friendly favour, which they had received from king Henry, would be shown to them by himself, they for a long time kept themselves to the precincts of their castles, and absolutely refused to obey his missives. For this there were two reasons: one, the allegiance and fealty which they owed to his kinswoman, the daughter of king Henry; the other, because certain of the greater barons of the kingdom but ill brooked their state and magnificence, inasmuch as their own far higher nobility was quite thrown into the shade by the superior wealth and power of these who were sprung from nothing. There was also another reason why they feared to come into the king's presence; namely, lest, being beset in his audience by the cries of the poor, and the complaints of the widows whose lands they had applied to their own use, justice should compel them to make restitution, to the total loss of all of which they had unrighteously become possessed. But the king, being willing rather to treat them with gentleness and long-suffering, and to try the effect of a loving conciliation before he had resort to arms, sent certain of those about him, in whom he especially confided, in order to bring them to a cordial agreement, instructing them to use all possible means to incite them to compliance, soothing them with flattery or terrifying them with threats, in case they refused acquiescence. The threats which were urged upon them from the king produced their effect; and they repaired to the court, having a safe-conduct given them for going and returning. Every request which they made was fully acceded to; and, having done homage and sworn fealty, they pledged themselves wholly to his service. Among them was Paganus Fitz-John, and likewise that Milo of whom we have made mention above; the former of whom was lord of the provinces of Hereford and Salopesbiri, the latter, of the province of Gloucester. In the time of king Henry they carried

their power to such a height, that from the river Severn even to the sea, throughout the whole of the boundaries between England and Wales, they involved all the inhabitants in litigation, and burdened them with oppressive services. But when he was dead, while they were waiting for an opportunity of stirring up dissension, being influenced more by the fear of king Stephen than by inability, they both perished in a wretched way, without the fruit of penance: for, whilst Paganus was pursuing the Welsh, he alone among his followers was slain, his head being pierced through with a dart; and Milo, after bringing subsequently many troubles upon the king, both as regarded his kingdom, his councils, and his capital, (as we shall set forth more fully in the sequel,) died without warning, his breast being transfixed by the arrow of a companion, whilst he was hunting for wild deer.

All the great nobility of the kingdom having then sworn faithful allegiance to the king, he caused a proclamation to be made throughout England, whereby he summoned the bishops and the chief men of the people to a council at London. They poured in thither as into one common receptacle; and the pillars of the church having been disposed in the order of their sees, and the people, in a confused and tumultuous mass, as is their wont, thrusting themselves in everywhere, many things relating to the future welfare of the church and realm were advantageously set forth and profitably discussed. They delivered many eloquent orations in the immediate presence of the king, on the subject of improving the condition of the church, and of restoring her liberties in a more full and ample manner; alleging that, in the time of king Henry especially, the church had been in a tottering state; that she had been as a captive thrown down and trodden under foot, and subjected to the most shameless insults: for, as regarded her pastors, the spiritual dispensers of the word of God, who stood in more close connexion with the altar of the Lord, he had involved them in suits and litigation; that they had been ground down by the forcible exaction of all kinds of oppressive services; that annual gifts had been required of them in place of tribute; that the door of the church had been more frequently shut or opened by the key of Simon than by that of Peter; that the estate of marriage, which is honourable in God's sight, he had dissolved on the slightest grounds, and even as he himself committed adultery, so also did he tolerate it in others; that he had applied to his own use the lands of the church, on the death of her bishops, and had sometimes given the oblations of the altar into the hands of powerful laics, or else had unrighteously taken a bribe for yielding them into the hands of those to whom of right they appertained: and if, on the other hand, any one arose with a desire to stand up as a bulwark for the house of Israel, and to meet such like infamous devices with ecclesiastical rebuke, being instantly restrained by the terror of that prince, he was assailed by insults, and persecuted with vehement railing, by him and his coadjutors; neither could he be heard in any demand or complaint until, with his own anointed hand, he had publicly proclaimed himself guilty

of presumption. Having, therefore, made most vehement complaints in the presence of Stephen, concerning this shameless depression of the church, and, as I may truly say, these exactions of a second Pharaoh, they implored him, in the most earnest manner, to restore the liberties of the church, to make her competent to exercise her own jurisdiction, to allow her institutes to be preferred before the secular laws, and her decrees to be set aside on no pretence whatever.

Stephen, after giving them a patient audience, and freely granting whatsoever they required, commanded that the liberty of the church should be fixed and inviolable; that her statutes should be ratified and confirmed; and that her ministers, of whatever profession or rank they might be, should be honoured with the utmost reverence. And he would have carried out the performance of his commands had not perverse counsellors, who sometimes lead a good disposition astray, and pressing necessity, which admits neither of law nor reason, driven him to the infringement of these liberties, as we shall subsequently relate. Matters being in this wise brought to an end, the council was dismissed in perfect unanimity and peace.

There was at that time a certain Robert of Bath, a knight, truly, of no ignoble blood, nor yet of small account in the way of territory, but greedy of wine and a gluttonous eater, who, in time of peace, was solely intent upon drunkenness and the indulgence of his appetite. On the death of king Henry, however, his inclinations took another turn; strife and variance taking the place of ebriety; for, having a number of men-at-arms and archers banded together with him in his castle, he annoyed his neighbours extremely by fire and devastation: nay, after he had at length done homage to king Stephen, when he ought especially to have been free from the commission of acts of dissension and turmoil, he appeared to all yet more cruel and mischievous. Being, however, summoned to the court, as though to make satisfaction for the rebellion which he had stirred up in the kingdom, he came in a backward and somewhat melancholy manner, even as one who, conscious of his own perjury and faithlessness, was not ignorant that he had offended the king's majesty. Accusations being then brought against him by a great number of those whose substance he had plundered in his hostile attacks, and his cause being weak, and his defence vague and insufficient, he was presently condemned by the judges, and compelled to place his castle at the king's disposal; and whatever he possessed was to be delivered up to be dealt with according to his mercy. And, doubtless, it was a right provision, and a very fit adjudication, that one whose cupidity had led him to unjust attacks upon the rights and property of others, should, by a just and righteous decree, now suffer the loss of his own. The king was then advised, since the necessity of the case was pressing, to order a troop of soldiers to take possession of his castle, Robert himself forming one of the party.

To this arrangement, indeed, he yielded, while in the presence of the courtiers, with a cheerful and smiling countenance; but at

the same time he was craftily contriving in his own mind how he might seduce the king's soldiers, and keep possession of what was properly and rightfully his own. When, therefore, having proceeded on their way together, they turned aside to a certain vill belonging to the said Robert, there to take up their quarters, Robert himself being their guide and leader, he roused up all the servants of his house to give them a welcome reception; and when all had been feasted in abundance with the most sumptuous and dainty fare, and a plentiful supply of wine, at night, while they were buried in sleep, he mounted his horse, and secretly made his escape. After strongly fortifying his castle against the king, he wandered about, first in one direction and then in another, lurking in obscure and uncertain retreats; sometimes, also, taking part with the enemies of the king in their attacks upon him, and at length died miserably, with none save strangers about him. When the soldiers of the king waked on the morrow, and perceived that their carelessness had lost them their comrade, they were covered with confusion at his escape, and returned to the court, lacking him and lacking honour. The king, afterwards, hearing that disturbances had broken out at Bath, (for the garrison of Robert, ravaging the country with fire and sword, gathered a quantity of provision into the castle, plundered from all parts by force of arms,) marched thither, without loss of time, at the head of a strong body of troops. On his arrival, having pitched his camp around the walls of the fortress, and disposed of the archers to keep watch and ward by night, others being distributed to lie in ambush during the day, the king set himself vigorously, with his whole force, to make a resolute and determined attack. Presently, while the sentinels were keeping a careful watch, they took prisoner a miserable little wretch, who had been let down from the wall, and was contemplating flight, and after having brought him to the king, they hung him on a lofty gibbet, in sight of all his comrades; the king declaring that all should undergo the punishment of a like fate, unless they speedily submitted to his commands, and provided for their common weal by surrendering the fortress. They were presently in a state of great fear, the king's threatenings against them being urgent; and, on consultation, deemed it expedient to provide for the safety of their lives, since it was plain and certain that, in case of refusal, nothing short of death was to be expected. The castle was then surrendered into the hands of the king, the stern condition being imposed that they were to quit the kingdom and depart into exile, until recalled by the king's clemency; and, as we have heard, they took up their abode for a length of time with the king of Scotland.

The king had no sooner brought these matters to a conclusion than, lo! certain messengers arrived from the city of Exeter with the news of a great disturbance, bringing an account that Baldwin de Revers, a man of high rank and family, was acting in a strange and unusual manner, and, as it appeared, against the king's peace; seeing that he had presumptuously entered the city, bringing an armed force amongst the defenceless citizens, demanding that not

only the inhabitants of the city, but also the neighbouring people, should submit themselves to him alone as their lord: moreover, that he was hastily bringing all sorts of provision into the castle, which, being part and parcel of the king's honour, he had usurped to his own use, loudly threatening fire and sword to all who refused submission to his arrogant demands. They, therefore, humbly implored the king to hasten to the succour of his citizens, who were placed in circumstances of such distress and difficulty, and whose only hope of relief lay in his protection; to the end that, being strengthened by his powerful aid, they might the more easily resist the power of Baldwin, and be able more freely and more specially to render their homage to him alone. When the king heard these tidings, he ill brooked Baldwin's presumptuous arrogance, more especially since it was as clear as noon-day that his opposition to him was utterly unjust; for the king's claim to the custody of the castle of Exeter, which had always been a royal fief, was capable of manifest proof. The king immediately determined upon allowing the enemy no time to make incursions upon the provinces, but ordered two hundred horse to advance before him upon Exeter, directing them to march all night, and, if possible, to drive out their opponents; but, if the soldiery were mixed up with the citizens, to take the utmost care not to do any mischief to the city. At day-break, on the following morning, Baldwin's soldiers, enraged against the citizens for sending to the king to punish them, issued out of the castle in a compact body, for the purpose of plundering the town, and throwing firebrands into the houses, when, behold, the glittering spears and waving banners of the king's troops were seen to approach the city; and in the midst of a dreadful tumult, which had arisen by reason of the flames and havoc caused by the fury of the troops who occupied the castle, they boldly rushed through the gates, and speedily put their adversaries to flight. Presently the king arrived, with a glorious, nay, I might more truly say, with an awful array, with horsemen in hundreds; and being met by his citizens with respect and reverence, with gifts and glad delight, he was joyfully received within their walls.

Exeter is an extensive city, enclosed with very ancient fortifications, the work of the Cæsars, (being fourth in rank, as it is said, among the cities of England,) well supplied with sea-fish and meat, and a port of great traffic. It possesses a fortress raised upon a very lofty mound, environed with a wall of impregnable strength, fortified by towers built by the Cæsars, made of hewn stone, in which Baldwin had placed a very strong and picked body of youth, the very flower of all England, for the purpose of opposing the king. After they had been bound by a solemn oath, and pledged not to yield at all to the king, they intrenched themselves herein, along with Baldwin's wife and sons, equipped at all points; and crowning the castle with a bristling diadem of glittering weapons, in thick and regular array, they frequently reviled the king and his men with vollies of abusive epithets. Occasionally, also, making an unexpected sally from some hidden quarters, they threw themselves with fury upon the king's army, with the intent of doing all the

harm they could; sometimes discharging a shower of arrows, or darting their javelins from a height; harassing them also in various other ways, as opportunity offered. The king, however, with a number of barons, who had all either accompanied him on his march, or speedily followed him with a reinforcement of troops, tried hard, in a variety of ways, how he might be yet more obnoxious to them. To this end, with a body of foot-soldiers, very well equipped and armed, he resolutely drove the enemy from, and took possession of, one of the exterior defences of the fortress, which was raised up on a mound of great height, and courageously destroyed an inner bridge, by which ingress was afforded from the castle to the town. He also erected, with admirable skill, certain great wooden structures, by which resistance might be made to such as were endeavouring to fight from the walls. Day and night alike he straitly and determinedly hemmed in the besieged: one while, with his men-at-arms scaling the mound on all-fours, he would provoke them to a violent skirmish with him; at another time, from an opposite quarter, he would bring up an innumerable multitude of slingers, and annoy them beyond all endurance with a perfect hailstorm of stones. Sometimes, also, he would give orders for such of his men as were skilful in working mines below the surface of the ground, to pierce into the bowels of the earth, and so bring down the wall. He contrived, moreover, machines of various kinds, some of great height, others level with the ground; one for the purpose of commanding a view of what was going on within the castle, the other for weakening or breaking down the walls of the fortress. The besieged, on the other hand, making a most prompt and vigorous resistance, set at nought all his engines, on which the utmost ingenuity of the workmen had been laboriously bestowed: and vigour and cunning being thus displayed on the part of both the contending parties, it became a complete trial of their respective activity and skill.

While the conflict was thus going on in this toilsome manner on both sides, the object of the one being to vanquish the besieged, that of the other to oppose an invincible resistance to the besiegers, certain soldiers of Baldwin, to whom he had committed the safe-keeping of his castle of Plympton, despairing of their lord's success, on account of the insuperable bravery which they heard was a characteristic of the king, and dreading, unreasonably, lest their own lives should be in jeopardy, like men of most faint-hearted and fickle disposition, sent secretly to the king with propositions for the surrender of that castle, and the establishment of conditions of peace. Whereupon the king, being desirous rather to arrange all things upon an amicable and peaceable footing, than to foster a spirit of discord and disunion, consented willingly to their requests, provided that they submitted to his authority, and used every possible endeavour to carry out pacific measures. A pledge of fidelity being mutually given and received, two hundred men-at-arms, with a large company of archers, were sent to Plympton. The unlooked-for appearance of armed soldiery, standing at break of day before the castle, struck the greatest terror into the minds of the inhabit-

ants, especially as they were ignorant of the conspiracy; and, at length, they took possession of the fortress, which was delivered up by the traitors themselves, as though they were too weak to offer any resistance to the attack. Having thus seized the castle, they razed it to the ground, in obedience to the king's orders; and having laid waste, with dreadful havoc, the whole of Baldwin's territory, which, in that direction, is very extensive and well situated, and exceedingly rich and fertile, they returned to the king at Exeter, with many thousands of sheep and oxen. An exaggerated report of these proceedings spreading over the whole of Devonshire, all the followers of Baldwin, greatly fearing the peril in which they would be placed, and the damage which would result to their property from the king's pursuit of them, betook themselves to him as humble suppliants, with the exception of Alured, the son of a certain illustrious nobleman named Joel, who was remarkable for his intimacy with Baldwin, connected with him by every tie of friendship, and bound under a solemn oath to oppose the king. When, however, he found that the castle was weak and untenable, and incapable of affording sufficient protection to his followers, he withdrew all the men from it, leaving it perfectly empty; and his brother, advancing stealthily upon Exeter with a very strong body of men, mingled among the king's soldiers, under the pretence of being one of his allies; and, indeed, among so many who were clothed in complete armour, it was no easy matter to distinguish one man from another. An envoy being then sent into the castle, (for captives and religious men were, for certain reasons, allowed frequent opportunities of mutual intercourse,) he apprised Baldwin's soldiers of his arrival, and that, drawn by fidelity and affection, he had left everything that he possessed, and came to endure with them whatever sufferings fate might expose him to. Their exultation and joy at the arrival of their comrade knew no bounds; and, opening the gates, they sallied forth to meet him with a very numerous body of men-at-arms, and brought him and his followers safely within the walls, before the king's eyes and in the sight of all his barons. This occasioned great confusion in the king's army, especially among those whose province it was to keep watch and ward over others, seeing that, in perfect ignorance, they had all been holding intercourse with him; and what stung them still more deeply, the enemy had carried him off in perfect safety and security from out of the very midst of their ranks. The king, however, bore this accident with great equanimity, and expressed no indignation about the matter; but said that, at length, he was about to have a festive day, if, by Divine Providence, it were so arranged that all the enemies of his peace were to be shut up together in one small corner.

In the meantime, while it appeared doubtful on which side the victory would be, whether on the side of the besiegers or the besieged, the king, moreover, having spent nearly three months before the place, and expended as much as fifteen thousand marks in various outlays, the Almighty Disposer of events, willing to terminate such great troubles, caused the springs of the two wells of the

castle, which sent forth an abundant and perennial supply of water, to dry up to such an extent, that what, at one time, was amply sufficient for the daily consumption of both men and beasts, now hardly sufficed to quench the thirst of one single individual. Some say that the flow of the water at its source was contracted by the excessive heat of the sun; others, that its course being diverted in the bowels of the earth from some accidental cause, it became hidden in the profundities of caverns or hidden depths of the ground. I ascribe it not, however, either to the burning rays of the sun, or to any such chance cause, but loudly and openly declare my conviction that the power of God was manifest in the drying up of the wells; for if, in so many ages preceding, they afforded an inexhaustible and copious supply, during a like prevalence of excessive heats, they would not now have dwindled down to an actual lack of water, had it not been owing to the working of a superhuman power. This is the more obvious, since, both previous to the blockade of the castle, and after its surrender, there was a great and abundant supply; the want of water being solely observable during the continuance of the siege; that, being chastened, as it were, by some scourge of God's infliction, namely, by the punishment of thirst, they might be compelled to yield up, with a humble and willing mind, what they were seen to keep possession of with injustice and presumption.

Meanwhile, when the supply of water ceased, they all had recourse to wine for their necessary uses; but this was soon exhausted: since they were driven to the necessity of kneading their bread with wine instead of water; and if any meat was to be sodden, they seethed it in wine. Moreover, they always ran with wine to extinguish the combustibles and firebrands which the king's engineers skilfully and artfully threw in to burn their machines, or set fire to their houses; so that no long time elapsed before they were equally at a loss for a drop of wine as for one of water. Hence it was evident that, by the failure of liquids, they must suffer in a variety of ways, and be in a much weaker state, in every respect, than they had been, seeing that the frail body of man is only strong and well so long as nature receives her due sufficiency of food; but when that is diminished, or wholly withdrawn, the result is weakness and total loss of strength. Dispirited beyond all belief by continual watchings, completely worn out by the different modes of assault which they brought to bear upon their adversaries from the walls, reduced to the utmost extremity by the great and unendurable drought of their thirst, they held a common consultation; in order that, after conferring with, and secretly apprising of their miserable state, those at whose instigation Baldwin had taken up arms against the king, and who were then deceitfully serving with the latter, they might surrender the castle, stipulating for the lives of its inmates. Presently two of the most eminent in rank and dignity among the occupants of the fortress, who had the gift of a ready and specious eloquence, and who knew well how to vary their mode of address according to circumstances, and could clothe its words in a captivating and skilful manner, were

sent as envoys to the king. The king, however, acting under the advice and persuasion of his brother, the bishop of Winchester, showed the utmost sternness of aspect, and drove them with threats from his presence, refusing to listen to a single word from them. For the bishop, having noticed the looseness and flaccidity of their skin, and the low and poor condition of the men-at-arms, void of their natural strength, their lips drawn back and gaping wide, discerned that they were suffering under the breathless agonies of thirst; and, therefore, advised that permission should on no account be granted to them to evacuate the castle, since he thought that on the morrow they would be ready to capitulate upon any terms. The wife of Baldwin, also, unable to bear this stern repulse of his followers, came to make her supplication to the king on their behalf, bare-footed, her hair hanging dishevelled on her shoulders, and shedding great floods of tears. He received her with courtesy and respect, moved alike by pity for the miserable and wretched condition of one of her sex, and by compassion for the relations and friends of that noble lady, who were partakers with her in the sufferings of the siege. Having listened to the requests concerning the surrender of the castle, which, in her wretchedness, she made with many tears, he was still inflexible and immovable, and at length sent her back to the castle, without any result being achieved. After the repulse which they thus underwent, and expecting nothing but instant death, some of the barons of the realm, moved with compassion for their near kindred, were grievously afflicted on account of their kinsmen who were shut up within the walls of the fortress; while others, who had been privy to Baldwin's insurrection and participators in it, were not a little enraged with their associates by reason of the obstinate prolongation of the blockade; and both parties going in a body to the king, held a long conference with him, and partly by the strength of their arguments, and partly by the intermixture of flattery, they quickly succeeded in changing his resolution.

For they said to the king, that he had gained a complete triumph over his enemies, seeing that, by the power of his arms, he had at length acquired what of right belonged to him; and that it was, therefore, more suitable to his dignity, and more agreeable to the clemency which should distinguish a king, to spare the lives of suppliant captives, than mercilessly to deprive those whose punishment had been next unto death of what little life was left in them. They also added, that these men had not sworn allegiance to the king's majesty, and had only taken up arms out of fidelity to their lord; nay, they were then declaring themselves specially on the king's side, since they would, at length, have delivered up into his hands what belonged to him in his own right. Wherefore they judged it more advisable, and more to the advantage of his kingdom, to raise that desperate siege in which they were suffering so grievously, that so he might take possession of the castle to the increase of his renown, and be thus better prepared to apply himself with earnestness to the completion of other matters. The king, beset on all sides by the pertinacity of the barons, who

not only besought him with flattering entreaties, but enforced their arguments by persuasive advice, at last yielded, and acceded to their requests. And, that he might attach them more closely to him, and render them more devoted to his service, he not only permitted them free egress from the castle, but allowed them to carry away their property, and follow whatever lord they chose. As each advanced from the castle, you might perceive that their bodies had lost all strength, were without any moisture, and languishing by reason of thirst; and they made greater haste, on coming out, to drain any vessel containing liquid of whatever kind, than to attend to other matters, be they what they might.

Baldwin, hearing that the king, as his superior, had given back all his possessions into his hands, was neither hopeless nor broken-spirited; but, having recruited his forces, he withdrew himself altogether to his territory of Wiht, being still bent upon stirring up a revolt. Wiht is an island of the sea of considerable length, but of no great width,—much resorted to by mariners, well supplied with fish, but unfruitful in corn,—almost all of which had fallen into Baldwin's hands by inheritance from his father, lying between England and Normandy, but nearest to the former. He had a fortress in the island, beautifully built of hewn stone, fortified with very strong ramparts; from whence, having got together an immense fleet of pirates, he essayed to weaken the king's power: and being in readiness to sail with any wind that blew, he used every exertion to intercept the merchants who sailed between England and Normandy, and to annoy both those countries as much as lay in his power. But the king, anticipating his artful schemes, left the castle of Exeter and the adjacent province under the government of the bishop of Winchester, and pursued Baldwin with all speed. Coming to the port called Hampton, on account of its proximity to the island, and its greater easiness of access, he gave orders for a fleet to be got ready for him, and regularly equipped for a voyage; when, behold, Baldwin, utterly stupified by the news of his descent, which was equally sudden and unexpected, came to him by the urgent entreaty of his friends, to move his pity as a suppliant. Indeed, after he had strongly and impregnably fortified his castle of Wiht against the king, he took the utmost care to ascertain whether the supply of water corresponded with the store of provisions which were laid up within its walls, and whether it flowed in sufficient abundance for the wants of the garrison. But in this case, also, it came to pass, through the providence of God, which disposeth all things, that the waters should be dried up by a sudden drought, and he and his co-adjutors rendered utterly hopeless of offering any resistance to the king. Wherefore, after begging Stephen to restore him his possessions, and failing in his request, he went as an exile from England to the count of Anjou, with the intention of again opposing him. The count hailed his arrival with great joy, and received him and his train with all honour, saying that he was his most devoted friend, and that he was ready to further every wish of his heart, whether

his choice might be to remain at his court as one of his comrades, or to pursue his opposition to the king.

Baldwin, however, regardless, after a time, of the pleasures of the court, resolutely set himself to foment a rebellion against the king; complaining bitterly to his kinsmen and friends of the injuries he had received from Stephen,—that he had been driven from his country, bereaved of his patrimony, and unjustly subjected both to flight and exile; and, therefore, had had recourse to his only haven of safety, so that, by joining their forces together, they might mutually try if they could in any way retrieve their fortunes. These illustrious individuals, deeply moved with compassion by his complaints, rendered him such energetic assistance, both by word and deed, that receiving him and his followers into their own strongholds, they completely gave up to him the place and precedence of a lord. He meanwhile, a great number uniting to aid him, stirred up an insurrection in the whole of Normandy, which was especially directed against the king's friends; forbearing no rapine or violence, withholding his hand neither from fire nor sword, making sudden onslaughts for the purpose of havoc, he mercilessly carried off all he could lay his hands on; and, causing trouble and disturbance everywhere, he made himself terrible to all. The countess of Anjou, the daughter of king Henry, was the great instigator of these evil deeds which he committed, never ceasing to urge him on both by counsel and entreaty; because, on the death of her father, his treasures, which had better have been dispensed to the poor for the weal of his soul, had been applied by Stephen to his own use, and he had also fortified certain castles to his own behoof. Neither was Baldwin the only one whom she induced to serve her, but others, also, as many as she could win over; inasmuch as she claimed, in right of her father, (and justly, as it seemed,) the supreme power of the realm.

When the king had learned the full history of these transactions in Normandy, having sent ambassadors across the sea, (for, on account of the weight of business which pressed upon him, he was unable to render assistance there very quickly,) some of the higher order were by entreaty and * * * * * *

[*Some leaves of the MS. are here wanting.*]

* * * * should make him earl of Bedford. After this the king, having kept his court with great splendour and solemnity, as befitted the festival of Christ's nativity, sent messengers to Milo de Beauchamp, who, by the king's permission, was governor and keeper of the castle of Bedford, and gave orders that he should both give up the castle and transfer to him the suit and service which he owed to Hugh: that, if he gave a willing acquiescence to his command, he should be treated with all honour, and presented with many gifts; but, if he should prove in any way refractory, he assured him at once that he would very shortly have to bear the brunt of the whole disaster. Milo, when he understood the king's message, replied that he would willingly do knight-service to the king, and obey his commands, unless he attempted

to remove him from a possession which belonged to him and his by right of paternal inheritance; that, if he acted with violence,—if he made determined preparation for attacking him,—he would bear his anger with as much patience as he could; but that he should never have the castle, unless reduced to the utmost extremity. When the king heard this, he was moved with extreme indignation against Milo; and, gathering his army together from all parts of England, he marched to Bedford, for the purpose of besieging him. Milo, becoming aware of his approach, forcibly abstracted from everybody whatever provisions he found at hand, and carried them away with him; and, committing rude havoc among the citizens and neighbouring inhabitants, whom, as his own vassals, he had formerly humanely spared, he gathered into the castle whatever he set eyes on; and having carefully secured the gates, he shut out the king's messengers, for this once, without doing them any harm. The king then, making a circuit of the castle with great wariness, set companies of archers upon them, and in such places as he judged most suitable for lying them in ambush; giving them directions that, aiming high, or else keeping close to the ramparts, they should assail them with a constant shower of arrows, and, not allowing them to have a free view, should use every possible means to annoy them. Meanwhile, he bestowed great cost and labour, and no little ingenuity and skill, in the construction of engines of various kinds, which might be adjusted either to scatter the earth-work or dash down the wall. At night, moreover, he made a prudent disposition of picked sentinels, to watch every entrance of the castle, lest the besieged might break out to arouse their friends, and lest any market-people might bring them in food or supplies; and by day he made the most careful provision for diverting, in the most suitable manner he could devise, such mischievous attacks as their artifice might bring to bear against him. But since a fortress strongly placed on a very lofty mound, environed with a high and strong wall, fortified with a tower of prodigious solidity, and garrisoned by hardy veterans, who knew not what it was to yield, absolutely forbade the hope of a very speedy capture, the king, turning his attention, in the meantime, to the transaction of such other affairs of state as were pressing urgently upon him, left the greater part of his army behind to carry on the siege; and gave orders that, if the engines proved insufficient to bring the place down, they should prolong the blockade, until the besieged, worn out by famine and want, should make an humble surrender. The blockade, on the king's departure, was carried on for so long a time, and with such harassing pertinacity, that, being utterly worn out, and their provisions exhausted, they confessed, at length, that the castle was no longer tenable. They therefore evacuated the fortress on such conditions as are usual in war, and surrendered it up, driven to that extremity by the power and bravery of the king. After the lapse of a little time, however, they returned to that very castle, with an exultation and eagerness which was enhanced by their previous humiliation and defeat; and not only recovered possession thereof, but were the means of Roger himself being

reduced (such was the wonderful reverse which God's judgment ordained) from the rank of an earl to that of a man-at-arms, and from that to utter poverty. But of these matters we shall treat more fully in the sequel.

Bedford, then, having been subdued, and when you might have supposed that an end had been put to dissension, and that all opposition and disturbance were at rest and wholly extinct, behold, the root and origin of all mischief arose to stir up discord and war, havoc and flames, in that part of England which is called Northumberland. So great, indeed, and so amazing was this misfortune, that it was not only a thing to be dreaded and marvelled at by men, but was even shown forth from heaven; for, a little time before it occurred, we perceived a large portion of the heavens emitting showers of bright sparks, after the manner of a blazing furnace; balls of fire, also, of marvellous intensity, like coals of living flame, being seen to move rapidly and closely, not in one, but in various and different directions. This appearance of the heavens, vomiting forth flame thus plainly and visibly in the sight of all men, undoubtedly signified either the great effusion of blood which was about to take place, or the conflagration of towns and villages which afterwards followed, with horrors which cannot be told; for the Almighty Creator of things, though He be invisible, graciously condescends, nevertheless, to our ignorance, and instructs us visibly concerning things to come: sometimes, in very deed, showing a sign from heaven for our information; at other times, by various things which come to pass through His agency upon earth, He assures and forewarns our lack of knowledge. Yea, I say, from heaven, as in the Book of Kings, when a portion of the sky being seen to be clothed with an unwonted redness,—a sign, doubtless, foreshown by God of an approaching war,—they who were interpreting what it should mean said, "It is a sword of blood."[1] In the Book of Machabees,[2] also, when armies of fire were seen rushing over the heavens, and conflicting hosts of aërial combatants breathing forth nought save flame, they, in very deed, recognised in them the portents of future evil; and history itself sets forth, with undoubted assurance, that such was the result. God, also, shows many things upon earth which have been plain indications of events which were on the eve of taking place; as, for example, the cutting off the skirt of Saul's robe, which portended the end of his reign; the ten pieces of the torn garment, moreover, which the prophet commanded Jeroboam to take away, signified that he was to have dominion over ten tribes: not to mention all the things that were done by the prophets, and that inscription which was written up before the face of Baltasar, and the dreams of his father; which were all true presages of things which were coming to pass, by the foreknowledge of which mortals might become more humble before God, and more circumspect in the midst of the misfortunes themselves. Let not the brow of him who reads this, then, be wrinkled with a smile of derisive scorn, if I say that the heaven, which with my own eyes I saw converted into flame,

[1] See 2 Kings iii. 23. [2] 2 Mac. v. 2.

and sending forth most dense clouds of fire and burning coals, was the sign and token of future evils, and of that most direful calamity which afterwards ensued in Northumberland. But let him who desires to know, listen and attend.

There was a king in Scotland, a country which adjoins England, the boundary of the two kingdoms being definitely marked by a certain river, a king of mild disposition, sprung from religious parents, whose example he emulated by a just and upright walk and conversation. Inasmuch as he, in the presence of king Henry, with the rest of the barons of the realm, had been the first to take a solemn oath not to raise any one to the throne after his death except either his daughter or her heir, he was moved with the deepest grief when Stephen succeeded to the government of the kingdom. But since it had been done and settled by the barons themselves, without his advice having been taken, he waited awhile in silence, prudently taking a survey of both sides of the matter and the possible result of the undertaking. At length, when the daughter of king Henry sent him word by letter that she was bereft of the property left by her father, deprived of the kingdom which had been promised to her under the security of solemn oaths, that the laws were abrogated, justice trodden under foot, and the faith of the barons, and the covenant they had solemnly sworn to observe, wholly broken and utterly set at nought, and humbly implored him, even with tears, to assist her in her destitution as a kinsman, and to afford her his succour in her misery, as one who had sworn fealty to her, the king sighed deeply; and, inflamed with an ardent desire of justice, as well on account of their common relationship as by reason of the fidelity which was solemnly promised and due to the royal lady, he made arrangements for disturbing the kingdom of England, that, by exciting commotions from all quarters in opposition to Stephen, he might be compelled, by God's assistance, to relinquish to one who had a juster claim the possession of that which (as it appeared to him) he unjustly held. The king of Scotland had those about him who were continually spurring him on by their counsel to stir up an insurrection; on one side, the son of Robert of Bathenton, and his friends, who, as has been said, were exiled from England, and had fled to him in the hope of recovering their patrimony; and, on the other, Eustace Fitz-John, a great and familiar friend of king Henry, as well as many others, who, either on account of private gain, or, as it seemed to him, by reason of the opportunity which offered of maintaining justice, made every effort to compass a rebellion. King David then (for such was his name) made a proclamation of war throughout his realm of Scotland, calling all to arms; and having given them the most unbridled licence, he gave orders for the committal of whatever they could devise against the English that was most brutal and inhuman, every feeling of compassion being utterly banished.

Scotland, which is also called Albany, is a country hemmed in by moors and fens, abounding in luxuriant forests, and in flocks and herds, with good harbours, and environed by rich islands; but

inhabited by an unchaste and barbarous people, whose spirit is not to be broken or overcome by the severity of their climate, or the sufferings they endure through scarcity of food, who place their reliance chiefly on their swiftness of foot and the lightness of their armour; disregarding, when at home in their own country, the terrors of death, and, when abroad, exceeding all others in the commission of cruelties. Gathering together, then, a rebellious multitude of this people from the nearest parts of Scotland into a very large army, he marched towards England; and having passed over the boundaries of the two kingdoms, he pitched his camp in Northumberland, which is a wide and populous province, well supplied with abundance of all needful provision. Having made an orderly disposition of his troops over the whole territory, which was wide and abundant * * * * * * *

[*Some leaves of the MS. are here wanting.*]

The conference between the king and the messengers having thus terminated, they took their departure. The king manifestly directing his steps towards London; but the messengers, going in the direction of Bristol, the particular residence of the earl, brought an account to their friends of his commands, which were so cruel to the kingdom of England; for example, that they should victual the castle of Bristol with very large quantities of provision, should accept the friendship of all who resorted to them, and, without delay, should do all the mischief and injury they could to the king and his followers, as well as to the enemies of the earl.

Bristol is well-nigh the most opulent city in the country; admitting merchandise by shipping both from the neighbouring and foreign parts; seated in a very fertile part of England, and, in point of situation, the most impregnable of all the English cities. For, like as we read of Brundusium, so a certain part of the province of Gloucester, being narrowed in the form of a tongue of land, and stretched out at length, is washed on either side by two rivers; and these uniting in one large expanse of water on the lower side, where the ground itself declines, form the site of the city. A strong and forcible current of the sea also, flowing in abundance night and day, forces back the stream of these rivers on either side of the city, their reflux forming a wide and deep gulf, which affords a harbour of the utmost security, and well capable of holding a thousand vessels; and this embraces its circumference so nearly and closely that the whole city seems altogether to sink down upon the shores, and, as it were, to float upon the waters. From one part of it, where it is accounted to be more open to attack, and more approachable, a fortress rises upon a lofty mound; and this being fortified by a wall, by bulwarks, and towers, and various engines, bids defiance to all attacks. Into this they collected such a great and wonderful crowd of horsemen and their train of footmen, nay, to speak more truly, a heap of highwaymen and robbers, that it appeared not only great and fearful to the beholders, but even horrible and surpassing belief. Having made their appearance, then, from different localities and places, they came thither

in greater numbers and with greater joy; seeing that, under the command of a rich lord, and from out of a very strongly-defended castle, full permission was accorded them of doing as they listed in the most fertile district of England.

Among them came Galfrid Taleboth, who, as has been above stated, having been exiled from England, breathed forth the most venomous and deadly hatred; and whatever cruelty his vicious and unrighteous soul was in the habit of conceiving, that he set himself to carry out. But his warfare, by the judgment of God, became turned against himself; for whilst he was plotting upon slaying some, and condemning others, he himself being seized in the first place, and straitly bound with chains, underwent, in a manner, the sentence of condemnation.

There is a city, six miles distant from Bristol, where certain small springs send forth, from out the secret bowels of the earth, waters heated without any skill or ingenuity of man, which are carried to the surface by concealed pipes into a reservoir beautifully arranged with vaulted chambers, forming baths of moderate temperature, salubrious and pleasant to the eye, in the midst of the city. The name of the city is Bath, so called from the meaning of that word in the English language, on account of the constant resort of persons from all parts of England to it; the sick, for the purpose of being laved in its health-giving waters, and they who are well, for the sake of seeing the wonderful gushing out of the hot springs, and of bathing in them. This city, then, on account of the ease with which it might be fortified, the people of Bristol endeavoured to add to their possessions, and made a sudden attack upon it at the first dawn of day, taking with them ladders and other articles necessary to scale the walls. Concealing themselves within a certain valley, they waited for a little time, until the situation of the city and the mode of its capture having been well considered by their scouts, they might all be let loose, and rush upon it with one accord. Galfrid Taleboth, with his kinsman, Gislebert de Lacey, a sagacious man, and one who was circumspect and laborious about all military affairs, being appointed to act as the scouts, softly and cautiously, as they thought, proceeded to make a careful survey of the compass of the city. The soldiers, however, of the bishop of Bath, having caught a sight of them, suddenly made their appearance. Gislebert, being more fierce and crafty than his companion, escaped from their hands; but they surrounded and took Galfrid, and having secured his feet fast in shackles, they thrust him into a secret dungeon, under the custody of a guard. Gislebert, having so unfortunately lost his kinsman, returned to his companions, and with mournful sighs related the sad misfortune which had befallen him. They were, however, by no means hopeless on account of this event, but rather animated with more determination; and, encouraging each other, they unanimously resolved upon liberating him, and made for Bath; and, sending for the bishop, they faithfully, and with an oath, promised him free and safe egress and regress, and indemnity against all harm. The bishop, at last, like a man without guile, who believes

every word that is said to him, like another Jacob who abides in his simplicity in the house, was received with deceitful joy by these impious wretches. Presently, they laid sacrilegious hands upon the preacher of the gospel, upon the minister of God's most holy altar; and assailing with shameless revilings the venerable father of our common faith and religion, whose office it was to give out the wheat from the Lord's garner, and who carried on his bosom the ark of God and the heavenly manna, they threatened him with death by hanging, if Galfrid were not given up. The bishop, therefore, was placed in a situation of great distress and trouble, since his enemies could neither be wrought upon by pity, nor by the ordinary feelings of compassion for his anguish. Neither were his followers, who were sheltered within the walls of the castle, able to afford him any aid; for, on his capture, they betook themselves thither, and, closing the gates, agreed to defend the fortress. The bishop, however, acceded to their rash and presumptuous demand, and gave orders for Galfrid to be freed from his fetters and given up, exercising, doubtless, a wise and prudent discretion; for if, in accordance with his first design, he had kept him to be delivered over into the king's hands, his prisoner would have been subject to punishment, and even his life endangered, whilst insult and contumely, or even death, would have been his own lot. Neither was it right or befitting a bishop to render evil for evil, and, in order to injure those who injured him, himself to do an injury. Neither was it reasonable that, by disgracing another, he should bring contumely upon himself, since it was evident that his own safety was his nearest concern, and that no obligation lay upon him in any way to part with his own life for that of another. Galfrid, then, being given up,—or, as I might more truly say, being kept alive by the hidden working of Providence for the future punishment of his soul, that he might afterwards be more grievously tormented in proportion to the number and extent of the cruel deeds which he should commit,—the bishop, at length, exercising his pastoral authority, began to claim the faith which they had plighted, and to demand where was the sanctity of their oath, and to assure the violaters of both that no prosperity in other actions would follow those who, lost to all sense of reverence and shame, had offended God on this wise. While the bishop was discussing these points, they asserted that they had neither sworn any oath to him, nor entered into any covenant, seeing that it must surely be admitted by every wise man that perjured persons ought not to take an oath, and that they who are wanting in fidelity can plight their faith to no one. They said these things for this reason, that they might cast a slur upon the bishop's want of knowledge, who gave credit, far, far more than was right, to men who were perfidious and perjured.

The men of Bristol then, with unbridled licentiousness, scoured the country with avidity and haste in every direction, when they heard of any lands or possessions which belonged to the king, or to those who were on his side, ravening like a pack of hungry dogs over the carcase which is laid before them. Yokes of oxen

flocks of sheep, whatever tempting object either their eye saw, or their proud heart desired, they seized and took away, sold, or consumed. When whatever was within their reach and compass had been brought into the pit of destruction, and utterly laid waste, if they heard of any rich or opulent persons in any part of England, they quickly attacked them, and either dragged them off by force, or beguiled them by treachery. They then bound up their eyes and gagged them, either with a lump of something forcibly thrust into their mouths, or with a little instrument made to fit the head, and furnished with teeth, after the fashion of a sharp curb or bridle, and so led them away with them blindfolded, and brought them into the middle of Bristol, like as we read of the sepulchre of Elisha;[1] and, by means of either famine or torture, they forced from them everything they possessed, even to the last farthing. Others, devising a more wily piece of craft, in the parts where England was in more quiet state, where things were more peaceful, and the people were in greater ease and security, travelled from day to day, first in one direction, and then in another, over the most frequented roads, and assuming a false name, character, and business, making no show of arms, or presenting any remarkable appearance, and abstaining from the wicked and profligate language which is a characteristic of robbers, they put on a meek countenance and a quiet demeanour, and clothed their conversation with the garb of gentleness and humility. They thus showed themselves to be hypocrites of a new dye by their deceptive contrivances, until they achieved the object of their hopes, and led off to Bristol, that step-mother of all England, some rich man whom chance threw in their way, or who had been privily abducted from some place or other. This specious and deceitful mode of proceeding, this contrivance of hypocritical guile, increased to such an extent, in almost every corner of England, that there was scarcely a city or a village where they had not practised their villanous contrivances, or left some trace of this most iniquitous system of trickery. Hence there was no possibility of travelling the king's highways with the accustomed degree of security; no man could place confidence in his fellow as he had been wont: but wheresoever one person saw another, in the course of his journey, he immediately began to tremble all over, and timorously avoided his glance, and either took refuge in an adjoining wood, or turned some other way, until he could pluck up spirit to pursue his journey with some degree of safety and courage.

When the report reached the king's ears that the people of Bristol had disturbed the country in the manner that has been mentioned, by public rapine and clandestine robberies, although he was harassed by other affairs of state, which required his attention, he summoned his army from all parts of England, and marched suddenly upon Bath, as if with the intention of besieging Bristol. The bishop, apprised of his approach, went out of the city to meet him on his arrival: and when the king, in the first words he

[1] See 2 Kings xiii. 20. Vulg.

spoke, showed the indignation which he felt against him for permitting Galfrid, his betrayer, and the destroyer of peace and of the country, to escape from his hands safe and unharmed, the bishop convinced him, by the concurrent testimony of witnesses, that he himself had been subjected to indignities and insults, had been nearly hung, and had undergone the violence of base and wicked men, to his great dishonour; and having succeeded, at length, in mollifying him, he brought him into Bath upon their old terms of friendship. The king made a careful circuit of the city, heedfully surveying its whole compass; and came to the conclusion that it was a place of exceeding strength, and well adapted for making a powerful defence. He, therefore, caused the walls to be heightened, and ramparts to be raised upon the brow of the hill; and having garrisoned it with a numerous body of troops, he gave orders for a careful watch to be kept upon the inhabitants of Bristol, and that every means should be taken for reducing them to straits. Diverging from thence in the direction of deceitful Bristol, he led his army near to the city, and invited the barons to consult together with him, how to commence the siege with the greatest effect, by what contrivances he might most effectually assault the place, and by what means he might most expeditiously bring it into subjection. The advice which he received was varying and uncertain, according to the fidelity or dishonesty of his respective followers. Some advised that a mole should be made of large stones, wood, and turf, in the place where the entrance of the haven of the city was contracted within the narrowest limits, so that, by shutting up the mouth of the harbour, he might put a stop to the assistance they derived from the operations of the sailors, on which they placed great reliance; and the rivers, which, as has been said, flow round the city, being dammed up, and their course intercepted, might rise upon them, and, gathering their waters into a large lake, like a sea, deep and wide, might threaten a speedy submersion of the city. They also highly approved of a plan for the construction of forts on two sides of the city, whereby the ingress and regress of those who were in the habit of going over the bridges might be stopped; and that, by keeping his army for a certain time before the earl's stronghold, he might subject the inhabitants to famine and many other sufferings. Others, again, overthrowing the wholesome and acceptable advice thus given, (being of the number of those who, under colour of fighting on the king's side, were, in reality, more favourable to the earl,) suggested, on the other hand, that it was idle to propose such a work, that the labour would be all to no purpose, that the depth of the harbour made it useless to attempt such a construction of timber or stones, since it was perfectly evident that whatever was thrown in would be lost and absorbed in its abysses, or that all the materials would be carried away and destroyed by the strong rush of the tides of the sea.

Acting upon this advice, the king withdrew from the prosecution of the siege of Bristol; and the troops having devastated and consumed, destroyed and carried away everything on his line of

march, he directed an expedition against two castles, Carith,[1] namely, and Harpetreu; the one held by . . . surnamed Luvel, the other by William Fitz-John. They were bound to the earl by the ties of friendship, firmly united to him by solemn oaths and plighted faith, and so confederated with him by treaties and homage that, so soon as they perceived that he wished to make an insurrection against the king's power, they immediately conspired together with him in this rebellion. For, hearing that the king had advanced his army against Bristol, and thinking that he would be carrying on a long siege there, they with one accord showed their plighted fidelity to the earl, by harassing grievously all the provinces around them, and annoying the whole country to the utmost extent of their ability. The king, however, marching thither in great wrath, besieged the castle of Carith with vigour and determination, the cross-bows and engines scattering fire and showers of stones amongst the besieged without cessation, until, being reduced to extremity by want of food, they were at last compelled to surrender, and to enter into a treaty of peace. They were incapable, indeed, of offering further resistance, being weakened by scarcity of provisions; especially since the earl, their great hope and stay, had not arrived in England, and the people of Bristol were prevented from coming to their assistance by the vastly superior force of the king. Leaving Carith, therefore, after a mutual interchange of good faith, the king led his army against Arpetreu, where he was anxious also to blockade the castle, and to bring against it a sufficient body of men-at-arms, had it not been suggested to him, by the advice of some prudent counsellors, that he might very fitly leave this fortress to be reduced by the soldiers whom he had left in Bath; principally for this reason, because the distance between both places was but short, and mutual access easy, and it might prove expensive and very laborious to get together the manifold implements and appliances necessary for an attack and siege in a variety of places. Subsequently, however, when he passed near to that castle, as though he were on his march to besiege Bristol, the garrison came hastily forth and pursued his army. The king speedily ordered his men to face about, and galloped full speed to the castle; but, finding it almost empty, he gave orders for some to set fire to the gates, others to set up engines and ladders against the walls, and all to labour with energy and zeal to effect an entrance; which being at length accomplished, and the place captured, (for there were but few to defend it,) he committed it to the custody and guardianship of his followers.

Having thus secured castle Carith, the king (who was constantly in arms, and followed by his soldiery) hastened to attend to a variety of concerns, and to the transaction of business of all kinds, which dragged him incessantly through all parts of England, in different directions, first to one place and then to another. For like as we read of the fabled hydra of Hercules, that as fast as one head was cut off two or more sprang up in its place, so are we particularly affected by a similar feeling with respect to the labours

[1] Castle-Carey and Harptree, both in Somersetshire.

of king Stephen: for, on one being ended, be it what it might, others, yet more onerous, followed in endless succession; and, like another Alcides, he ever girded up his loins with indomitable fortitude to the endurance of each and all of them. I have read of the various encounters and labours of Saul, and, likewise, of the innumerable conflicts and toils of other kings; but they are not to be compared even with the exceeding weight borne by this man, with the wars and stratagems of every kind by which he was beset, or with which he beset others, with the numberless anxieties also which oppressed him, either on account of the destruction of his followers, or by reason of chance misfortunes; for his toils were so great and so stupendous, that they must assuredly appear horrible and beyond belief to those who read of them. I have read, also, of the many disquietudes undergone by the Machabees for the restoration of tranquillity to their country. I have heard, also, of the wonderful struggles of Alexander against foreign foes, and the various encounters and afflictions endured by other kings for the defence of their subjects; but you will find that the tribulations and conflicts of king Stephen were more multiplied, and far more grievous, and the more irksome, unquestionably, inasmuch as he was subjected to them by his friends and fellow-countrymen, and by his own followers, who conspired together against him. For that the persecution of friends and familiars is even the hardest to bear, and the most bitter, is testified by the Lord Himself, who complains more of him who had eaten of His bread, and yet lifted up his heel against Him, than of others. And He alludes to this in another place: "A man's foes" saith He, "shall be they of his own household." [Matt. x. 36.] A certain philosopher, also, comes to the same conclusion: "There is no greater plague," is his remark, "than a foe who has once been a friend." Whosoever, then, has a desire to read and become acquainted with events which will cause amazement, let him hear and learn a history which is well adapted to produce it.

The soldiers, whom the king had left in the city of Bath to oppose the people of Bristol, defended themselves with energy and resolution, fortified the walls and mounds in the strongest manner, by means of every contrivance which could be devised for defence. The midnight hours were passed in patrolling the walls with an armed force, who kept watch and ward by turns; and sometimes, in the dead of the night, they issued from the walls and placed ambuscades in suitable places. By day they made incursions upon some one or other of the territories belonging to the Bristol people, with a very large and well-armed body of countrymen and soldiery; sometimes presenting themselves before the very gates of the city, as though about to force a sudden and violent entrance, and making their appearance, in a terrific manner, with all their forces, houses and churches, and whatever was capable of being set on fire, were both consumed * * * * *

[*Some leaves are again wanting.*]

* * * backed by a great number of friends, and supported

by the power which attached to a very splendid lordship, he was reckoned to hold the second place in the whole kingdom next after the king. Although he was very dear to the king, although he was more especially set at the head of all the affairs of state, and had the control of the king's court, yet he sympathised nevertheless with, and had greater feelings of friendship and attachment for, the abovementioned sons of king Henry, and promised that he would keep faith with them, and use every endeavour to afford them succour; but he did this secretly, lest he should give offence to Stephen. His castles, which he had built in a very splendid manner, he filled with very strong garrisons, and an abundant supply of provision, prudently assiduous in furthering the king's interests, but watching for a fit opportunity to assist the others, on their arrival in England, with greater readiness and vigour. As he hoped, also, that their coming to England was shortly about to take place (having frequent messages sent him by them from Normandy to this effect), he advanced to several places, and especially to the court of Stephen, attended by a very large and numerous retinue of soldiers, as though he were leading them to his succour, and made an addition to the men of his own district in the persons of a great and astonishing concourse of his friends, so that, in the meantime, he might in this manner gratify the king, and be in readiness to abet those to whom he rendered more cheerful and willing obedience, in the event of their arrival. To this design his nephews,[1] the said bishops of Lincoln and Ely, who were prelates of great magnificence, and guilty of presumption on which they ought not to have ventured, gave their assent. Regardless of the pure and simple manner of life required by the religion of Christ, their sole thought and care was bestowed upon warlike concerns and secular grandeur; and this to such an extent that, as often as they presented themselves at court, in obedience to a summons thither, they were the subject of universal astonishment, by reason of the extraordinary number of armed retainers by whom they were surrounded on every side. The earl of Meulan, and others who were close and particular adherents of the king, ill-brooking the pomp and magnificence of these bishops, were bitterly incensed against them, and not at all smothering the malicious flame which the torch of envy stirred within them, they laid many things to their charge before the king, and brought many unworthy accusations against them. For they alleged that these bishops were in possession of the highest dignities of the realm, of the most excessive wealth and splendour, and of an extravagant retinue,—and all this was not to conduce to the king's honour, but for their own pride and profit; that they had erected fortresses which were very much talked about, and raised towers and buildings of exceeding strength, not for the advantage of the king's dominions, but that they might weaken his kingly power, and plot against the dignity of his crown: that, on this account, it would be advisable, and especially desirable for the king's peace, to lay hands on them, so

[1] We hence gather that the individual here alluded to was Roger, bishop of Salisbury; see W. Malmesbury, pp. 394, 395.

that, for the king's honour, they should relinquish to him the custody of their castles, and whatsoever else they had which afforded material for war and insurrection; but that everything which appertained to their ecclesiastical functions, to religion, and to their episcopal rights, should be placed at their disposal in a pious and catholic manner: that if the king, relying on their virtue and wisdom, should determine upon acquiescing in the advice they gave, and should seize upon them privately, and take them into custody,—not in their episcopal character, but as transgressors of episcopal meekness, and suspected disturbers of his peace and of the tranquillity of the kingdom,—until their strongholds were surrendered, and the things which belonged to Cæsar given up to Cæsar, he would be free from mistrust with regard to the rebellious designs they ascribed to them, and the country would be in a quieter state. On receiving this counsel, which was continually repeated with great urgency, and pressed upon him more from envy, injustice, and jealousy, than from any regard to the interest of religion, the king was placed in a situation of great distress and anxiety of mind, both because it was a serious and unlawful step to proceed irreligiously and violently against the sacerdotal order, and because it was an obnoxious and offensive thing to refuse to listen to his privy counsellors and the chief lords of his palace. Worn out, at last, by their importunate entreaties, and by the solicitations which they constantly and pertinaciously forced upon him, he allowed them, for the preservation of his honour, and for the tranquillity of the realm, to proceed against the bishops in the manner they sought. In this matter he was assuredly influenced and overcome by most foolish, not to say, mad advice; for if it is an unbecoming and forbidden thing to hurt any person whomsoever, according to the saying, "What thou wouldest not have done to thee, that do not thou to another," it is infinitely more base and unlawful to show disrespect and violence, in any way, to the chief ministers of the holy altar. To do the one is, in the sight of men, a manifest and great transgression; but to do the other is a most heinous offence against God Himself, and is a sin. For so the Lord saith by His prophet, "He that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of mine eye." [Zech. ii. 8.] And in the Gospel, "Whoso despiseth you, despiseth me." [Luke x. 16.] And, lest presumptuous and rash dishonour, or irreverent violence, should be committed against those who serve at the holy altar, He thus restrains them by the prophet, saying, "Touch not mine anointed." [Psal. cv. 15.] I declare, then, with boldness and determination, that God Himself is by no injury more swiftly and deeply offended than when any one, either by word or deed, doth aught to hurt those who are employed about the sacred service of His table. The sons of Core, because they set themselves up with such arrogance and pride against those who were set over them, were not only rebuked by God, but were swallowed up alive and perished. Saul, also, because he rose up impiously and unthinkingly against the priests of the Lord, was not only cast down from his throne in the sight of the Lord, but came to a most cruel end in battle. Having set forth these few things for the

amendment of those who contumaciously despise the ministers of God, we may now return to the matter in hand.

When the bishops had come in great state to the court, as has been already mentioned, a dissension suddenly arose between their men-at-arms and those of the king, of which the crafty earl of Meulan was the instigator, along with some others, who were partisans of the royal cause, especially those who were privy to the abovementioned plot. Taking up arms, and arranging their forces, they made a precipitate and violent attack upon the bishops' attendants. Some were taken prisoners, others slain; but the greater number ignominiously fled in all directions, leaving in the hands of their enemies everything which they had brought with them. They then returned to the king, as though they had obtained a triumph over his enemies; and a general council of the ill disposed having been held, they hastened in a body to seize upon the bishops, as offenders against the king's majesty. They, having heard of the disgraceful dispersion of their men, were meditating flight, as the report went, when, behold, the followers of the king, well armed, entered their hostelry, and, finding the bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln, dragged them quickly before the king, plundering, at the same time, everything on which they could lay their hands. The bishop of Ely, however, when he heard what had happened, being a man of greater subtilty and more activity, fled with all speed, and made a hasty journey to a castle of his uncle's, called Devises, where he prepared himself for a strenuous resistance against the king. The king, on hearing that the bishop of Ely had taken up arms against him, believed in the truth of what had before been cunningly and jealously suggested to him; and, being inflamed with the most violent indignation against the bishops, applied himself with all his might to gain possession of their strongholds. So, coming to Devises, which was a castle of the bishop of Salisbury, fortified with admirable skill, and exceedingly strong defences, he brought the two bishops with him, closely watched and guarded, and gave orders that they should be shut up apart in filthy holes, and subjected to all the privations of hunger; and that his high chancellor, the son of the bishop of Salisbury, who had just been taken and thrown into prison, should be hung up before the very castle gate, unless the bishop of Ely would deliver up the castle, and admit the king's army within its walls. The bishops were grievously afflicted, and in a state of the deepest distress and anxiety of mind, since it was evident to all that they and their people would be exposed to all kinds of insults, and even to the peril of their lives, unless their strongholds, which they had erected with the utmost care, and in which they took the greatest delight, were placed at the king's disposal. By the advice of their friends, however, who, although but seldom, had access to the earl, they were persuaded, nay, strictly enjoined, to terminate the disgraceful captivity in which they were detained, by submitting altogether to the king's pleasure; especially since the things that are Cæsar's must be rendered to Cæsar, and nothing should a man give in exchange for his soul.

The castle, therefore, and the rest of their possessions being delivered up to the king, the bishops, humiliated and depressed by this reverse, and stripped of all their vain pomp and glory, returned to the possession of their sees in a plain and churchmanlike condition, having yielded up to the king, though with grief and unwillingness, all the stores of arms and money which they had laid up in their fortresses. These matters being thus brought to a conclusion, we are led to wonder at the unlooked-for course of events whereby the king, after his treasure had been well-nigh spent and exhausted in the defence of the country, should so suddenly enter into the labours of other men, and everything which, as report said, had been laid up in those castles for his injury and detriment, should now be granted and yielded up to his behoof and advantage without the smallest trouble. After this, a council was held in England; and it was definitively settled that whatever munitions of war, of any kind, might be in the hands of any bishop whatsoever, should be given over to the king, as of his own right. When the king was publicly accused that he had made a rash attack upon the bishops, he excused himself and his followers on grounds which, as he conceived, were good and valid: but since it had been justly and wisely provided and adjudged by the whole. of the clergy, that nothing could excuse the laying violent hands upon the Lord's anointed, he softened the sternness and rigour of the ecclesiastics by a humble submission; and stripping himself of his royal apparel, groaning in spirit and contrite in heart, he received with humility the penance assigned for the act which he had committed.

About that time William de Mohun, a man not only of high rank, but of distinguished descent, stirred up a violent insurrection against the king; and, having gathered together a few bands of horse and foot into his stronghold,[1] which was beautifully and impregnably situated on the sea-shore, he scoured, with great fury and ferocity, the whole country of England. Pity was extinct, and his cruelties were bounded neither by time nor place. He used violent measures to subdue not only the neighbouring inhabitants, but many also who were at a great distance. If any offered resistance, they were perseveringly persecuted by robbery and rapine, by fire and sword. The wealthy who happened to fall in his way were mercilessly subjected to imprisonment and torture; and these his proceedings completely changed the aspect of things, and instead of a kingdom where peace, tranquillity, joy, and rejoicing reigned, you had nothing but discord and rebellion, lamentation and woe. When tidings of these things at length reached the king, he gathered his adherents together into a large army, and made a hasty march to quell the insolence of William; but when he had taken his stand on a place which commanded the entrance to the castle, and beheld its strong position, which bade defiance to attack, inaccessible on one side on account of the sea, which washed its walls, and fortified on the other by towers and walls, by a ditch and exterior defences, he gave up all hope of assaulting it; and, acting under a wise and prudent counsel, he established a fortification within sight of the

[1] Namely, the castle of Dunster; see Hoved. f. 277.

enemy, from whence he could keep them in check more straitly, and gain more secure possession of the surrounding province. He also commanded Henry de Tracey, a veteran soldier, and one of great experience in military affairs, to act in his place, since other matters demanded his attention, and to attack the enemy with the utmost promptitude and resolution. Henry, then, in the king's absence, issued out of his city of Barnstaple, of which he had become possessed by royal grant,[1] and made a vigorous and determined onslaught upon the adverse party; so as not only to restrain the unbridled licentiousness of their depredations, and the incursions they had been in the habit of making on the country, but at one time, also, in a skirmish of cavalry, took prisoners an hundred and four of their men-at-arms. He thus reduced William himself to such a state of humiliation and obedience that he desisted from further hostilities; and the country being altogether freed from his disturbances, was left in a condition of thorough tranquillity.

Nor was this William the only one who was subdued by the courageous arm of Henry. He afterwards reduced to subjection some other disturbers of the country, and refractory enemies of the peace of the realm; especially William Fitz-Odo, a man of great wealth and large possessions, who, in time of peace, enjoyed what belonged to him with great moderation, never accepting contributions in kind, as the custom is, from his neighbours, or presents from any one; but, at length, on the kingdom becoming disturbed by the dissensions which were springing up in all directions, he himself, with his followers, took up arms against the king. But Henry, acting with spirit on the king's behalf, after he had weakened him by many repeated engagements, was informed, at last, by some trustworthy scouts, that his castle was empty, the soldiers composing his garrison having been sent off on some marauding expedition. Coming, therefore, with his men, in the dead of night, to the castle, and surprising the sentinels, he effected a stealthy entrance, and throwing torches through the tower windows, the inner parts of the dwellings were presently in flames, and the lord of the castle was himself half-burnt. An incredible amount of treasure was seized; and, by the favour of the king, he had a grant of all that he had taken possession of. In many other engagements, also, Henry fought with alacrity and fidelity against the king's enemies, the particulars of which we shall more fully set forth in this history in their proper place.

Whilst, as has been shown, disturbances of these various kinds were going on in England, Baldwin, a man, as has been before stated, of noble birth, and who had been driven into exile by the king, landed at the city of Warham, with a gallant and powerful body of troops; and having been received into Corfli [Corfe], one of the most secure fortresses in the whole of England, he boldly prepared himself and his followers to resist the king, who, as he learned from common report, would soon be within a short distance of him. The king, having been forewarned by his adherents of his arrival, lost not a moment's time; but, as quickly

[1] See Dugd. Monast. i. 621.

as possible, summoned his followers, and suddenly made his appearance before the castle itself, for the purpose of besieging Baldwin: and there he remained for a great length of time, thinking either to weaken them by his engines, or reduce them by famine. At length, under the advice of his followers, he raised the siege, and allowed Baldwin to depart unhurt; inasmuch as he had heard that Robert, earl of Gloucester, and his sister, (those pertinacious enemies of his kingdom,) had combined their forces, and were just about to invade England. And being very anxious that they should not force their way into the kingdom without the knowledge of himself and his adherents, he ordered all the entrances of the harbours to be watched night and day, judging it more advisable and expedient to throw every impediment in his power in the way of his most formidable foes rather than, by giving his whole attention to Baldwin, to incur the risk of being himself obstructed by others. But, as it is written, there is neither wisdom, nor prudence,[1] nor counsel, but as the Lord wills it, and the subtilty of man's heart is unavailing to avoid that which the providence of God hath determined to do. We know how subjects are chastised, sometimes on account of their own transgressions, sometimes for those of their rulers; for, as is well known, the people of Israel, who in many things offended God, were smitten oftentimes with many oppressions by war, and many wastings by pestilence; and the same people, by reason of the sin of David, and for the adulteries of Solomon, felt the stroke of an angel in the one case, and direful vexation from their enemies, in the other.

Since, therefore, the people of England, enfeebled by luxury and sloth, enervated by lewdness and intemperance, and swollen with pride and arrogance, had oftentimes provoked the Lord to anger; and since their rulers, also, in this scandalous and shameless mode of living, gave themselves up with even greater laxity and negligence, without thought or compunction, to all manner of illicit intercourse, to every kind of extravagant and gross indulgence in gluttony and drunkenness—in fine, to whatever was most wicked and hurtful to the soul—and thus incensed the Lord, and excited His most heavy wrath against them, it was no matter of marvel that England should be everywhere tormented by so many intestine divisions, by so many wars and tumults, and by such flagrant crimes. For it is evident, and may not be doubted, that certain great and horrible sins are not expiated except by grievous punishments; and the greater the eagerness with which any one rushes to the commission of evil, the greater will be the amount of his retributive torment. And hence it is said to Babylon, "How much she hath glorified herself, and lived deliciously, so much torment and sorrow give her."[2] To whatever extent, therefore, king Stephen's vigilance might be exercised in promoting the tranquillity of the kingdom, by the utmost skill in warlike matters, however great and continued the labours and fatigues incurred by himself and his followers in their arduous conflicts, he, nevertheless, achieved not the object of his desires; for, if I may use the words[3]

[1] See Prov. xxi. 30. [2] Rev. xviii. 7. [3] See 2 Kings xxiii. 26.

of the prophet, "the anger of the Lord was not turned away, but His hand was stretched out still," and the heavy burden of the Lord, ever pressing them down more and more, kept increasing in inexorable severity throughout the whole of England, until the iniquities of the Amorites should be full, and the Æthiopian should change his skin.

While the king, then, was giving his attention to other matters, having ordered the ports to be closed, and a very strict watch to be kept, Robert, the earl of Gloucester, with his sister, the countess of Anjou, having landed at the castle of Arundel, as if for the purpose of a short tarry, was there received, along with a strong body of troops. England, disquieted and alarmed with great dread, was in a state of agitation in a variety of ways; for those who either secretly or openly favoured his cause were more bitter than common, and more inflamed by a desire to harass the king; whilst, on the other hand, those who submitted to the king's authority were completely prostrated, as though a terrible thunderbolt had fallen among them. The king, however, throughout all the adverse circumstances of war and insurrection which fell to his lot, continued undismayed and unshaken; and, without allowing any time to be lost, he made haste, with all boldness, to lead on a body of active and well-disciplined troops, and unexpectedly presented himself before the castle. Having ascertained, from trustworthy scouts, that the earl and his followers had made their way out in the dead of night, and were on their march to Bristol, and that his sister, along with the men of Anjou who had accompanied them, were concealed in the castle, he left part of his army to provide against their escape, and directed all his energies to secure the earl. But since he was unsuccessful in accomplishing his purpose, (the earl having diverged from the high-road into some by-way or other,) he quickly retraced his steps, for the purpose of besieging those who were hidden in the castle. The bishop of Winchester, hearing of their arrival, forthwith caused the by-paths leading into the road to be obstructed, by placing soldiers in them; and at length, as it was reported, met the earl, and having mutually entered into a compact of amity, he allowed him to depart safe and unharmed. Such was the common story; but it evidently appeared doubtful to every one of sound judgment, and well-nigh incredible, that a brother should cordially receive the invader of his brother's kingdom, and should allow one whose object it was to stir up the realm so seriously against his brother to depart uninjured from his presence. The bishop, then, making it appear that he could not capture the earl, joined the king with a great display of horsemen. And when he perceived that the king was firmly bent upon prosecuting the seige, he represented to him that the design was useless, and one which should not be adopted, as well as it regarded himself as the kingdom; for if he should determine to besiege the countess of Anjou in one part of England, her brother would commence an insurrection as quickly as possible in another: and, therefore, it was more advisable for himself, and better for the country, to allow her to join her brother in safety, in order that,

both being driven into one place along with their forces, he might direct his endeavours with greater facility to crush them, and more easily commence a hot pursuit with all his followers. A truce was, therefore, solemnly sworn and agreed to, with mutual professions of fidelity; and he allowed the countess to depart to her brother, in the full confidence of attacking them with so much greater boldness when both were driven into one corner of the island. On the earl's arrival in Bristol, he informed all the barons of the realm of the fact, and besought them, with tears and in a piteous manner, to come instantly to his aid, promising to give them largesses, and to increase their estates, and, moreover, that he would meet all their wishes by granting every privilege in his power. All who favoured their cause, and who were previously in the service of the king, but deceitfully and traitorously, breaking the covenant of fidelity and fealty which they were sworn to observe towards him, went over to their side; and, having joined heart and soul in a conspiracy to oppose him, attacked him with the utmost vigour on all sides.

At this time Brian Fitz-Count, a man of illustrious descent and distinguished rank, who rejoiced exceedingly at their arrival, having fortified a very strong castle which he had at Wallingford, rose up in arms against the king with a very large body of men, in a most determined and vigorous manner. Milo, also, the sheriff of Gloucester, (of whom we have already made some mention,) breaking his oath of fidelity to the king, was one of the boldest of the insurgents; and, having accepted the aid of as many of the king's enemies as he could gather around him, he carried havoc and devastation of every kind into the provinces which surrounded the county of Gloucester. At one time they swept off an innumerable quantity of cattle from the most remote corners of England; at another, they grievously harassed, with fire and sword, those of their own immediate neighbourhood whom they knew to be attached to the king by faith and fealty. In one place they lay in constant ambush for the king and his adherents; in another, they devastated their territories and possessions with every circumstance of cruelty, making the country a perfect desert: and not only they, but many others, also, who were bound by an oath of fidelity to the king, the bonds of peace and unity being now broken, attacked him with unbridled licence, raging with savage fury in all parts of England, committing in every place the most iniquitous and flagitious acts that wickedness could devise. King Stephen, however, in the midst of all these disasters, which assailed him like the waves of the sea, was unsubdued and unshaken; and, collecting his forces into one great body, he boldly attempted to bring them all to the ground. First of all, marching to Wallingford, with an immense number of troops, he proposed to environ them with a close and obstinate blockade; but being prevailed upon, by the more prudent advice of his barons, he relinquished for a time the intentions which he had formed. For they said that, as the matter stood, the castle was most securely defended and fortified, having a plentiful supply of provisions, enough to last for many years, and garrisoned by a strong body of troops, in the flower of their age

and of great and indomitable courage; neither could he remain any longer there without sustaining the greatest injury, both as regarded himself and his followers; since it was notorious that his army would be grievously harassed on one side by daily sallies on the part of the garrison, and liable, on the other, to be molested by the enemies who were everywhere conspiring, either openly or covertly, against him. On this account, they said it was an advisable course, and one which ought to be adopted, to build two castles there; and putting in them a garrison sufficient for their defence, to carry hostilities in another direction, so that he might by these means reduce them to greater straits, and be ready, with prompt and unexpected assistance, to weaken the efforts of the others.

Two castles, therefore, being hastily erected, he marched with all despatch to a stronghold called Trowbridge, which Humfrey de Bohun, by the advice and at the suggestion of Milo, had strongly fortified to oppose the king. But, whilst he was pursuing his intended journey, a wonderful piece of luck happened to him; for he not only took by storm the castle of Cerne, which Milo had built for the purpose of carrying on the insurrection against him, but the fortress of the city of Malmesbury (which was fortified with great skill and strength) was surrendered to him; and its occupant, Robert Fitz-Hubert, with his followers, captured,—a man of exceeding cruelty, and second to none in villany and wickedness. Since the chances of war, however, are variable,—fortune's wheel one while raising a man to the greatest heights, and at another time lowering the same man to the lowest depths,—a sudden unlooked-for reverse followed close upon this most auspicious event. For, while he pursued his march to Trowbridge, Milo, a man of the highest courage, exceedingly prompt and untiring in his prosecution of great undertakings, made a night attack upon Wallingford with a strong body of troops, and, in spite of their opposition, at length compelled the soldiers whom the king had left there to yield; and, having killed some, and wounded others, and taken all the rest prisoners, and put them in chains, he returned back with the triumphal tokens of victory. An evident reason may be assigned for the loss and misfortune which befel the king in that place, namely, the permission which he gave to turn a certain church there from a house of devotion and prayer into an abode of bloodshed and war. For, since a church is built to this end, to be the house of God, and is called the house of prayer, the man most assuredly offends God who makes it the home of strife and warfare. And, since it is written, that no sin goes unpunished, and that according to the measure a man meteth out, so shall it be measured to him again, [Matt. vii. 2], it is forming no extravagant opinion on the matter, if we affirm boldly that the reason of this event which happened to the king was because he had changed the house of peace and salvation into a residence for discord and war.

Milo, having thus gained a triumphant victory over his adversaries, applied all his energies to annoy the king and his adherents;

and all those persons whose territories the king had devastated, or who, for any reason, were bent upon opposing him, having been summoned by him to Gloucester, both because it was a fortified place and well-provisioned, and also because a multitude drawn together from different places into one focus might more securely and eagerly make an attack, he achieved many great and triumphant successes. For, not to mention the extensive and numberless devastations he committed, the terrible conflagrations of towns and villages, the various individuals of different ranks and stations whom he either gave up to the sword, or kept bound with thongs till they should be ransomed, which are all matters more to be grieved over than narrated; the only thing which I think it worth while to place on record is, how that the castles which the king had established in the shires of Gloucester and Hereford, whose occupants exercised an unheard-of tyranny over the common people, were vigorously and bravely captured by him. Some he overthrew, of others he allowed his followers to keep possession, the occupants being partly made prisoners, partly driven away from the castle, as at the city of Winchcomb, or, as at Cerne and the city of Hereford, subdued with energy and courage, and driven to surrender. It must also in nowise be omitted that his fidelity and constancy, as regarded Henry's children, were so great, that he not only succoured them, but, receiving also the countess of Anjou herself, with her adherents, he recognised her, both in word and deed, as filling her father's place; until at length, on the capture and incarceration of the king, as we shall more fully explain in the sequel, he placed her on the throne of England.

Meanwhile, Stephen arrived at Trowbridge, and, perceiving that the place was fortified with the utmost pains, garrisoned with men who were well prepared to encounter all hazards, and not likely to be brought to yield without great difficulty, he set himself resolutely to work in the laborious construction of engines to carry on the siege. But his attempts were vain; for the engines proved ineffectual to subdue them: and they were not to be moved in the least by the siege, although it was vigorously carried on and long protracted. The barons, therefore, who were with him, some being greatly annoyed by the tedious delay, others being but perfidious and faithless coadjutors in the matter, and all dreading lest the earl of Gloucester should bring his forces together into one body and make a sudden attack upon them, advised the king to return to London; which he accordingly did, in order that, having recruited his strength there, he might advance with greater boldness wherever fortune might call him, and direct his attacks upon certain parts of the country with more security. But, for the purpose of harassing Trowbridge, he left a picked body of men, who were ready for any warlike encounter, in the castle of Devises, on account of its proximity to the former place; and by the mutual attacks and incursions which they made one upon another, the whole of the circumjacent country was reduced to the state of a miserable desert.

About the same time, Roger, bishop of Salisbury, breathed his

last. He surpassed all the great men of the realm both in wealth and sagacity of intellect; yet, being wholly worn out and enervated by his luxurious habits, whatever little remains of virtue were left in him were rendered of no account by the single fact of his unchastity. He left an enormous amount of treasure in the church of Salisbury, and a great number of vessels of goldsmith's work, some of gold and some of silver, wrought and embossed with great magnificence and skill. All were given up to the king's use by the canons, who were on his side, and voluntarily offered them, as well as many other things which the bishop had laid up in his treasure-house, not knowing, as the Psalmist [Ps. xxxix. 6] hath it, who should gather them: resembling also the rich man in the gospel to whom it was said, "This night shall thy soul be required of thee; then, whose shall those things be which thou hast provided?" [Luke xii. 20.] The king, however, graciously applied part of the money towards the roofing of the church, and part to the relief of the necessities of the canons; and the lands and possessions of the churches, which the bishop had applied to his own use,—removing their pastors, and reducing the churches from the position of mistresses to that of handmaidens,—he gave back to them freely, and as pertaining to the church; and their pastors having been duly and canonically enthroned, he restored the two churches of Malmesbury and Abbotsbury to their ancient and pristine splendour.

The bishop of Ely, hearing of his uncle's decease, applied himself to the carrying out of the design (which he had long meditated) of taking up arms against the king: so that he might both avenge, as far as he possibly could, the injuries which, as has been stated, his uncle had suffered at the king's hand, and also contribute such aid as he could towards a more speedy acquisition of the kingdom by the sons of king Henry. Wholly laying aside, therefore, the weapons of the gospel, and the warfare of ecclesiastical discipline, he put on the garb of a man of blood; and, hiring soldiers in Ely at his own expense (men prepared both in will and deed, and ready to execute any villany), he embroiled all the neighbourhood, especially those who were on the king's side. Ely is a large, pleasant, and populous island, with abundance of rich pasture ground, surrounded on all quarters by impassable pools and morasses, approachable only on one side, where an insignificant landmark points out a very narrow path to the island; and a castle of ancient date, in the midst of the boundary, wonderfully planted in the very water itself, renders the island an impregnable fortress. The king, when he had ascertained for a fact that the bishop had commenced an insurrection, made a hasty march thither with a large army; and after a careful survey of the extraordinary and invincible strength of the place, took the advice of many, with much anxiety, as to the mode by which he and his troops might gain access to it. He was at length advised (and the advice was adopted) to get together a number of boats in a place where the stream which flowed round the island appeared most shallow, and placing them cross-ways, to raise a bridge upon them to the opposite bank, with fascines laid

along the whole length. The king, not a little pleased, ordered the work to be quickly proceeded with; and a bridge having been in this manner skilfully constructed upon the boats, he quickly arrived with his troops on the hither banks of the island. Having passed over the water by this contrivance, there still remained certain slimy marshes, in which a shallow ford, conveniently adapted for crossing, was privately pointed out to the king. They say that a certain very knowing monk, of the province of Ely, originated the plan of passing over the water, and was the person who acted as guide, and led them through the ford in the marshes. As a recompence for this service, we afterwards recognise him under the name of the abbot of Rumesey, having been let into the church rather by means of the key of Simon than of that of Peter; but we subsequently find him, by the just judgment of God upon hidden things, suffering many troubles and afflictions on account of his unrighteous admission to the church. But of these things more in the sequel. The king thus penetrating into the interior of the island, allowed his army to scour it in all directions; and some of the bishop's soldiers being taken, and an extraordinary quantity of treasure and spoil of great value having been found, he got possession of the little fortress which stood at the entrance of the island, to which the bishop's men-at-arms had betaken themselves: and having thus obtained an astonishing and glorious victory over the enemy, he struck the greatest terror into the breasts of his adversaries throughout England. The bishop, escaping with difficulty from the king's power, fled in a state of humiliation and poverty to Gloucester, whither all gathered, as into a common receptacle, who were harassed by the king; and so this poor man was taught, what the proud and the rich cannot learn, that the Lord putteth down the mighty from their seat, and bringeth low, even to the ground, him that exalteth himself in his pride.

While these things were going on in the district of Ely, William Fitz-Richard, a man of very illustrious lineage, and who held under the king the wide principality of the county of Cornwall, treacherously violated the solemn oath of fidelity which he had sworn to the king; and having received Reinald,[1] the son of king Henry, into a castle which was a rightful possession of the king, he gave him his daughter in marriage, and entrusted him with the whole county of Cornwall. Reinald, indeed, after obtaining the dominion of so great a principality, began to conduct himself with greater boldness than foresight, bringing all the people into subjection by force of arms, fortifying whatever castles there were, and placing his own followers in them, and grievously oppressing as many of the king's adherents as were within reach. The presumptuous madness of his rash proceedings extended to such a height that he did not even spare the churches, or at all restrain his marauders from laying their hands upon ecclesiastical property. On this account, not long after, we saw him overtaken by the most just infliction of divine vengeance; for the bishop of Exeter smote him with the sword of excommunication, and severed him from the

[1] See Dugd. Baron. i. 610.

communion of the faithful. His wife also being driven mad by demons, he no longer enfolded in his arms the gentleness of a woman, but the direful fury of a fiend. The territory, moreover, which he had received from his traitorous father-in-law being not long afterwards seized by the king, was, in a great measure, lost to him; for with the greatest difficulty he retained possession of the single castle which he inhabited; so powerful was the strength which his adversaries brought to bear against him. The king, therefore, as we have before stated, hearing of the insurrection in the district of Cornwall, made a hasty and unexpected march thither; and having recovered the fortresses of which Reinald had possessed himself, he gave the county in charge to Alan, the earl, a man of the utmost severity and craft; and, having left him there with a body of very active troops, he ordered him to wage a perpetual warfare with Reinald, until he should be driven out of the country.

Robert, earl of Gloucester, however, and that very powerful body of the king's enemies who continued in Gloucester, when they learned that the king had passed the boundaries of Cornwall, were exceedingly delighted; for they thought it would now be easier to attack him, inasmuch as he was removed from the main body of his army in the farthest corner of England; and that, if God should bless their endeavours, they should be able to crush him there. Collecting, therefore, a very large force, they made all speed into Cornwall, with a great array of troops, to attack the king: when, behold, some messengers astonished their ears with unlooked-for news, affirming that the king was at length returning, having successfully achieved all his designs, and that he would presently be before their eyes, and among them, with an overwhelming body of admirable soldiery. And these were not false or frivolous tales which the messengers told; for the king, having had private intelligence of the approach of the earl, disposed his men with skill and forethought in battle array; and summoning all the barons of Devonshire to his aid, set forward, as if with the intention of giving battle to the earl on that very day. The space of ground by which the two parties were separated was so extremely small that his wishes would have been speedily fulfilled, had not the earl, acting under the prudent advice of his followers, been persuaded to retire, and retreat upon the city of Bristol. The king then, returning without molestation to himself or his troops, overthrew a great number of adulterine[1] castles; some of them being evacuated on the first news of his approach, and others acquired by courageously bringing his forces against them. He then entirely cleared the surrounding districts, which suffered intolerable annoyance from the oppressions inflicted on them by the occupants of the castles, and brought them into a state of the most perfect tranquillity.

About this time Robert Fitz-Hubert, a man of Flemish extraction, full of treachery both in mind and action, who, as it is stated of the judge in the gospel [Luke xviii. 27], neither feared God

[1] So called because possessed, or erected, by those persons who had no legal right to them.

nor regarded man, stealthily leaving the service of earl Robert (for he was one of his stipendiaries), took possession by night of one of the king's castles called Devises, the fortifications of which were of great strength and perfection, by means of ladders strongly and ingeniously made of leather, which were slung from the battlements of the wall down to the ground. After surprising the guard, and throwing himself and his followers into the castle, he seized upon as many of the king's adherents as were within its walls, (who were sleeping in the utmost security, and suspecting nothing,) with the exception of a few, who, being disturbed at that untimely hour of night by the noise and clamour of the invaders, betook themselves with speed to one of the higher turrets; but, as they had taken no provision with them, and no assistance arrived from the king, the lapse of a few days obliged them to surrender the tower.

The report of this extraordinary act of villany becoming widely spread, the earl of Gloucester sent his son with a large body of troops, as though to make himself a party to Robert's enterprise; but he, reviling him with insulting words, mingled also with threats, drove him away from the gates, and sent him back to his father loaded with reproaches; asserting that he had seized upon the castle in order that he might keep possession of it, and not that he might give it up to a more powerful party. The matter, indeed, stood thus; and the cunning and wily device of the man's heart was this, that neither continuing as an adherent of the earl's, nor yet professing himself to be on the king's side, he would bring into the castle a great reinforcement of his own people, and, either by force or treachery, get the whole of the surrounding district into his hands. But his wickedness, by the judgment of God, was wonderfully turned against himself, according to that sentence which was spoken by divine authority: "Wherewithal a man sinneth, by the same also shall he be punished." [Wisd. xi. 13.] For, even as his treacherous intentions were to circumvent others, so was he himself treacherously beguiled, and died a prisoner in chains, worn out by all kinds of torments. Now there was in the neighbourhood a certain man, named John, likewise a person of great cunning, and ever ready to undertake the treacherous contrivance of great disturbances, who forcibly kept possession of a very strong castle, called Marlborough, in right of the king. This fortress Robert had a great hankering after, either because it was close at hand and conveniently situated as regarded his own castle, or because, if brought under his control, he might with greater ease throw the whole of England into a state of turmoil. He, therefore, sent word to John,[1] by certain messengers, that he would enter into a treaty of peace and amity with him: that he was desirous of requesting free access to his castle, for the sake of giving and receiving mutual counsel; and promised to keep the treaty unbroken and the compact inviolable. John thinking, as the matter stood, that all these things were promised in the hope of treacherously obtaining the castle, appeared to give a ready and courteous reception to his requests;

[1] This was John Fitz-Gilbert; see W. Malmesb. p. 404.

but when he had received him into the castle, and had closed the gates behind him, he threw him into close confinement, and subjected him to hunger and torture; and making a sudden attack with his men upon Robert's comrades, whom he had brought with him to help him in his treachery, and laying violent hands upon them, some he threw into prison with their leader, and others, after a base and ignominious flight as far as Devises, he compelled to yield.

When the earl of Gloucester heard that this great villain was thus kept in safe custody by John, who up to this time was his most faithful ally and partisan, he was exceedingly rejoiced; and having summoned a large body of troops to accompany him, he proceeded to John, and having brought Robert out in front of Devises, he hung him up before the eyes of all his followers: the vengeance of God fitly providing that he by whom many thousand human beings had been trampled on and tortured should have his own wicked life ended by a punishment which he well deserved. His existence being thus terminated, his kinsmen and comrades, who had been left behind in the castle of Devises, and upon whom, during his life, he had imposed an oath not to yield up the castle to any one, even though hanging should be the result of their non-compliance, accepted a large sum of money from the king, and surrendered the castle to Hervei the Breton, son-in-law to the king, a man of great distinction, and eminent for military prowess. He continued to succour the king with the utmost courage and energy, and carried on an obstinate and unceasing conflict with his opponents; until at length, being entrapped by the country people, and besieged by all the inhabitants of the neighbouring districts, the fortress was lost, and, whether he would or no, he was constrained to fly from England and go into exile. But more of these things in the sequel.

When these matters had been thus brought to a conclusion, Galfrid Talebot (of whom mention has already been made in its proper place) adventured upon besieging the garrison which the king had left in the stronghold of Hereford, for the defence of the country, and as guardians and protectors of his rights. Entering into the principal church of the episcopal city, which was dedicated to the Mother of God, and, with utter lack of reverence, driving out the ministers of God's altar, he rashly and presumptuously led in a multitude of armed men, and converted the house of prayer, and the place where intercession was made for souls, into a den of strife and tumult, of war and bloodshed. It was assuredly a dreadful sight, and insufferable to all who had any feelings of devotion, to behold the abode of life and salvation turned into a home for marauding soldiers; the citizens in every direction bewailing with tears, either because they saw the ground in which they buried their dead taken to raise a mound against the castle, and beheld the dreadful spectacle of the bodies of parents and kinsmen, in various stages of decay, some only recently interred, others half putrified, ruthlessly torn from the grave, or because the tower from which their ears were greeted by the sweet and peaceful chime of the bells was made at one time the place for the erection of warlike engines, at another, the point from which they hurled their missiles for the

injury of the royal forces. Galfrid then carried on his attack with great annoyance to the garrison from this church, and Milo of Gloucester also prosecuting the siege on another side of the castle, and grievously harassing them with engines. * * * *

[*Two leaves are here again wanting.*]

* * * that he would carefully make amends for whatever he had failed in. Whereupon the king was advised that, the man being received, for the re-establishment of the treaty, and the renewal of peace, he should silently watch whether his deeds corresponded with his promises, and so should depart in another direction, for the prosecution of other matters. A great length of time then elapsed; and since the earl obeyed the king with no more devotedness than usual, and, remaining with his wife and his sons in the castle of Lincoln, imposed hard conditions upon the citizens and neighbours, the inhabitants frequently addressed earnest supplications to the king, sending messengers to him with the utmost secrecy, and praying him to advance as speedily as possible to besiege the earl, with the assistance of his allies. The king then made a sudden and unexpected march thither; and, being received by the citizens, found the castle well-nigh empty, with the exception of the wife and brother of the earl, and a few of their supporters, whom, on the king's entrance into the city, he had left there, himself with difficulty making his escape alone. The king then commenced the siege of the castle with vigour and resolution, most grievously harassing its occupants with crossbowmen and other engines of various contrivance; upon which the earl of Chester summoned Robert, earl of Gloucester, as also Milo, and all who had taken up arms against the king, and having brought up with him a powerful and overwhelming body of Welsh, they all with one accord entered into a unanimous conspiracy to overcome the king. It happened to be the festival of the Purification [2d Feb.], and when mass was being celebrated at day-break, and the king, according to the rite and office of the day, was carrying a lighted taper[1] in his hand, the light was suddenly extinguished, and the taper, as it is said, was for a short time broken; being, however, retained in his hand, it again became reunited, and its light rekindled: a sign, apparently, that his sin should occasion him the loss of his royal honours; but that at length, through the mercy of God following the due performance of penance, he should reacquire his dignity in a wonderful and glorious manner. The taper which, when broken in his hand, he yet retained in his grasp, showed that the kingdom did not totally abandon him, neither, although thrown into prison, did he lose the title of king; and, by the wondrous disposal of God, it came to pass, when he was in captivity among his chiefest foes, they still could not accomplish his dethronement.

The king, learning that the enemy would make their appearance on the morrow, and would come to a battle on that day, unless he himself refused an engagement, would not sully his renown by the disgrace of a flight; but having made a cautious and regular dispo-

[1] See Robert de Monte, p. 712.

sition of his troops in battle array, he went forth boldly to meet them without the walls of the city. When he had advanced a very strong body both of horse and foot, to oppose them after they had crossed a certain ford, they, having skilfully set their battalions in array on the opposite side, made a violent attack upon them, and took possession of the ford; and having bravely dispersed and put them to flight, they came to a general engagement with the king's army in the most determined and intrepid manner, and with perfect unanimity. Some were slain, others taken captive, with a view to their being afterwards ransomed, and very many, such as the earl of Meulan, and that William of Ipres, (shame on them!) taking flight before they even came to close quarters with the foe, the king was at last taken prisoner, after a most obstinate and determined resistance. Thereupon, whilst some of the citizens pursued those who were betaking themselves for refuge to the city, and presented to view on all sides a woeful spectacle of havoc, by reason of the continued slaughter which was carried on, and the ravaging and burning of houses and churches in every direction, others gathered in great numbers around a mighty multitude of those whom they had taken prisoners, and also around the king, who, when at length disarmed, frequently exclaimed, with humility and regretful sorrow, that this ignominious punishment for his offences had happened to him through the vengeance of God; yet that those were not clear of enormous guilt who, breaking their faith, despising their oath, and setting at nought the fealty which they had plighted to him, had risen up with such flagitious wickedness against him whom, of their own accord, they had elected to be their king and lord. On hearing this, all were overcome by the tenderest pity and compassion, so that they not only burst out into tears and lamentations, but were affected with the liveliest feelings of penitence, which was evidenced in the countenance as well as felt in the heart.

The earl of Gloucester then led away the king with him, and brought him to his sister, the countess of Anjou, in Gloucester; and from thence he was transferred, by common consent, to the town of Bristol, there to be kept in close captivity until his dying day. Blind, however, he was in this matter, and utterly ignorant of the secret purpose of God, in whose hand, as it is written, is the heart of the king, and whithersoever He will He turneth it; who bringeth him down for a time in order that He may afterward exalt him with greater power and glory. For He who reduced the king of Babylon, so inflated and arrogant in his pride, unto the form and condition of a beast, that through that very degradation he might receive a better sense and knowledge Godward, and might by Him be afterward raised up and exalted with greater honour; He also who suffered king David, on account of his sins, to be put to a shameful flight from his royal throne by the rebellion of his son, and allowed him to wander amongst divers lurking-places in disgrace and dishonour, that He might in like manner bring him back in greater eminence and in a more marvellous manner to his throne; the same God, in that secret counsel whereby nothing is done without a cause, willed it that king Stephen should be cast down

for a little moment, that he might afterwards be exalted to a greater and more wonderful height. The manner, however, in which this happened, and the extraordinary circumstances which attended it, we shall narrate more clearly in the sequel.

The king having thus, by God's will, been taken prisoner, and, as has been stated, imprisoned in Bristol, the whole of England was troubled and stupified with astonishment; and to some it appeared the dawn of a brighter and happier day, since they hoped that an end would thereby be put to dissensions and war: but to others who reflected more deeply it did not seem possible that the offence of which they had been guilty, in respect of their king and lord, would be expiated without very great let and hindrance, both as regarded themselves and the kingdom; neither could tumult and rebellion be so easily put a stop to as long as it was apparent that the greater part of the realm was on the king's side, and that the strongest fortresses in every direction had surrendered to the royal forces. That such was the result, experience shortly proved. The greater part of the kingdom, however, continued on the side of the countess and her partisans; and some of the king's party, entrapped by sudden misadventure, were either taken prisoners or forcibly driven out of their possessions: whilst others, speedily falsifying the allegiance which they owed to the king, voluntarily surrendered themselves and all that belonged to them into her hands. A base and most abominable set of men, assuredly, who, when their lord and king was shaken by the storm of adverse fortune, but yet not utterly lost, so quickly transferred the fealty which they had promised to him! For earl Alan, a man, as has been observed, of great savageness and subtilty, whilst lying in wait for the earl of Chester, with the intention of avenging the dishonourable capture to which he had subjected his king and lord, was overpowered by his adversaries, taken prisoner, put in chains, and given up to be punished in a filthy prison; until at length, assuming the guise of a forced humility and a most abject servitude, he did homage to the earl of Chester, and placed his fortresses at his disposal, and lost, meanwhile, the county of Cornwall, which he received by royal gift, Reinald being now the superior lord of that county. Earl Hervey also, the king's son-in-law, having been besieged for a very long time in the castle called Devises, by an uncouth mob of country people who had banded themselves together into a large body for the purpose of doing him injury, at length surrendered that fortress into the hands of the countess; and, being driven with dishonour from England, crossed the sea with an insignificant number of followers. Hugo also, surnamed the Poor, who, after the expulsion of Milo de Beauchamp, was permitted by the king to have possession of the county of Bedford, conducting himself in a negligent and careless manner, like an effeminate and dissolute man, was obliged to give up his castle to Milo, whether he would or no; and in a very short time the righteous judgment of God reduced him from an earl to a man-at-arms, and from a man-at-arms to a state of the utmost poverty.

These and many others also of the king's adherents, having thus

endured the changes and chances of adverse fortune, and others having also submitted to the countess's rule of their own free will, and without any compulsion, (like Robert de Oli, governor of the city of Oxford under the king, and the earl of Warwic, who were men of little firmness, and more characterised by their fondness for pleasure than by greatness of soul,) she began to assume the most haughty and arrogant demeanour, her very gait and movement no longer indicating the softness of a feminine humility; but in walk, and speech, and every action, she exhibited unwonted sternness and pride, so that she would have presently raised herself over the head of her lord, and made herself queen of England, and have gloried in being so entitled. She was advised, however, to seek the friendship and alliance of Henry, bishop of Winchester, the king's brother, inasmuch as he was reckoned to excel all the great men of the realm in prudence and sagacity, and was accounted the most eminent among them in wealth and power: that if he were willing to attach himself to her side, he should be treated with the utmost reverence, and have the first place in her counsels; but if he proved contumacious and rebellious, that then no time should be lost in marching all her disposable force against him. The bishop was thus in a great strait; in the first place, by reason of the great difficulty there was in defending the king's cause and bringing matters back to their former condition, chiefly on account of the deficiency of men and stores in his fortresses; and, in the next place, because it appeared a sad thing to himself, and an unseemly act in the eyes of others, so suddenly to ally himself with the adversaries of a brother who was yet alive. Harassed and distracted by conflicting arguments, he first inclined to one line of conduct, and then to another; until at length, under the influence of more discreet advisers, he came to the conclusion, after a time, of entering into a treaty of peace and amity with the enemy; so that, having thus gained quiet and security for himself and his followers, he might watch in silence the progress of events in the kingdom, and, if opportunity should offer, might rise with the greater boldness and promptitude to render assistance to his brother.

A treaty, therefore, of peace and amity having been mutually entered into, he received the countess with a joyful welcome into the city of Winchester and the king's fortress; the royal crown, (which she had always most ardently longed for,) and the treasures, although they were but of small amount, which the king had left there, having been delivered up into her hands, he caused her to be openly proclaimed as sovereign and queen in the most public places of the city. Having been exalted to this supreme dignity, with so much state and magnificence, she proceeded to exercise her power in everything with haste and precipitation. Some of those who had been on the king's side, and had agreed to submit themselves and all that belonged to them to her authority, she received with unwillingness, and, occasionally, with an open expression of indignation; while others were driven with disdain from her presence, and distressed by threats and insults. Their lands and possessions, which the king had allowed them to retain, she seized,

either wholly or in part, his arrangements being changed without scruple; whilst the fees and honours belonging to the few who still adhered to the king were altogether forced from them and granted to others. Whatever grant the king had made by royal decree she abrogated with domineering expressions; and whatever he had given in fixity and perpetuity to the churches, or to those who had fought by his side, she immediately appropriated and bestowed upon her own followers. But the greatest indication of her extreme haughtiness and pride was when the king of Scotland, and the bishop of Winchester, and her brother, the earl of Gloucester, (whom, as the chief men of the whole realm, she then regarded as her constant companions,) came with bended knee before her to ask some favour, she neither rose with the courtesy that was becoming, when they prostrated themselves in her presence, nor yet acceded to their requests, but full oft dismissed them disrespectfully without an audience, and stopped their mouths with some arrogant reply. Presently also she gave no heed to their counsel, as would have been fitting, and as she had promised them she would; but she herself arranged and ordered everything, relying solely upon her own foresight, and acting according to her own mind and pleasure. When, however, the bishop of Winchester perceived that some things were done without his consent, and many others without his advice, he was not a little angry and indignant; but, nevertheless, he dissembled his feelings with regard to everything with subtilty and caution, silently watching the tendency of the measures she originated.

When she had, at length, brought over the greater part of the realm to her side, pledges being given and personal homage having been accepted, and when, as has been before mentioned, her success had elated her pride and arrogance to an extraordinary degree, she at last went with an immense array of soldiery to the city of London, at the request of the inhabitants, who presented themselves before her as humble suppliants. The citizens then flattered themselves with the idea that a joyful season of peace and tranquillity had arrived, and that a happy change had come over the fortune of the realm; but, having summoned certain of the more wealthy among them, she required them to supply her with a very large sum of money; making the demand in no meek or gentle manner, but with a haughty and imperious voice and demeanour. They immediately complained that the dissensions which had prevailed in the kingdom had occasioned them the loss of the wealth which they formerly possessed; that they had expended a great deal in relieving the pressing necessities caused by an impending famine; that they had always complied with the king's demands, even to the very verge of poverty; and, on that account, humbly and piteously they besought her, in mercy to their calamities and oppressions, to place a limit on her exaction of money, or to spare the citizens in their trouble for a little time, from the imposition of the burden of an unwonted tax. They stated, however, that so soon as peace should be restored upon a firmer basis, and strife and tumult hushed throughout the kingdom, their aid should be laid at her

feet with all humility, in proportion as their means should increase and their wealth be multiplied. While the citizens were thus pleading their cause, the countess, with stern eye and knitted brow, her countenance losing every semblance of feminine gentleness, broke out into a furious rage, saying that the Londoners had spent a great deal, and that often, on the king's account; that their wealth had been most bountifully contributed to strengthen his cause, but to weaken hers; that they had long been in league with her enemies to do her hurt; and therefore it was neither reasonable to spare them in anywise, nor to relax in the slightest degree in her demand of their money. When they understood this, the citizens returned disconsolate and unheard to their homes.

At this particular time, the queen, a woman of shrewd intellect and masculine resolution, sending messengers to the countess, besought her, with great earnestness, to liberate her husband from his filthy prison, and also to permit his son to enjoy the property which had been left him by her own father. Since, however, the queen herself was subjected to the most harsh and opprobrious taunts and reproaches, and neither she nor those who came to supplicate in her stead could obtain any redress, she despatched a magnificent array of troops from the opposite side of the river to London, in full confidence of achieving, by force of arms, what was denied to her prayers. She issued her commands, to the effect that they should ravage the outskirts of the city with the greatest animosity, carrying fire and sword, rapine and plunder, before the very eyes of the countess and her followers. The Londoners were in a state of the utmost anxiety; in the first place, because the country was being laid desolate before their eyes, and reduced by the marauding foe to the condition of a rabbit-warren, neither had they any one at hand who could render any aid; and in the next place, because their new mistress, exceeding all bounds of moderation, set herself up against them with immeasurable insolence—the unheard-of demands which she so unmercifully made at the very commencement of her reign affording them no room to hope that she would ever show any gentleness or bowels of compassion towards them. After due deliberation they therefore came to the conclusion of renewing a treaty of peace and alliance with the queen, and united together with one consent to liberate the king, their master, from his captivity; that, having been justly punished for their too premature and unscrupulous desertion of Stephen, they might, while he yet lived, free themselves from the yoke of the new tyranny which was imposed upon them.

While the countess was awaiting the answer of the citizens to her demand, with a full conviction that her will was law, the bells were rung in all directions, as a signal for the commencement of hostilities, and the whole city flew to arms; and, all being actuated by one common feeling of desire to rush with the utmost fury upon the countess and her followers, they issued forth at once on the gates being opened, like an immense swarm of bees from their hives. The countess, with overmuch boldness and security, was just about to sit down to a grand entertainment, when she heard a

horrible tumult in the city; and, being warned by some one of the treachery which was meditated against her, quickly sought safety in flight, with all her adherents. Mounted on swift horses, they had barely cleared the suburbs of the city in their flight, when, lo! a great and inconceivable multitude of the citizens entered the hostel which they had just deserted; and whatever remained behind, in the hurry of their unexpected flight, they found as it was left, and ransacked in every direction whatever thus fell into their hands. The countess, though a number of barons, urged by fear, fled with her, did not, however, retain them long as the companions of her flight and discomfiture; for the great hurry of so sudden an alarm threw them into such an extraordinary state of confusion, that, utterly unmindful of their mistress, they rather consulted their own safety; and, pursuing the various turnings of the different roads which presented themselves to them in their hasty flight, they made for their homes by a multitude of byeways, as though the Londoners were close at their heels. The bishop of Winchester, also, who is reported to have been privy to the conspiracy, if not its instigator, as well as some others, both bishops and belted knights, who had assembled in London, with great pomp and pride, for the purpose of enthroning the countess, fled with all speed to various places of shelter and concealment. The countess, however, made the best of her way to Oxford, with her brother, the earl of Gloucester, and a few other barons, by whom the advantage of flying to that place in particular was more definitely pointed out.

After the countess and her party had been thus driven in terror from London, all the partisans of the king, and those who had been cast down and depressed by his capture, as though the light of a new day were shed upon them, joyfully congratulated each other; and, taking up arms with a good courage, they rose on all sides against the adherents of the countess. The queen was received by the Londoners; and, forgetful of the womanish weakness and softness of her sex, she behaved with man-like courage and bravery. By entreaties and bribes, she drew around her everywhere a band of indomitable allies, and never ceased from soliciting those who had been pledged to the king, in whatever part of England they were dispersed, to join with her in demanding the liberation of their lord. She now also boldly importuned the bishop of Winchester and legate of all England, out of compassion for his brother's bonds, to apply his energies to procure his release, and to use every endeavour to restore to herself her husband, to his people their king, and to the realm its protector. The bishop, moved alike by the tearful supplications which the royal lady so urgently pressed upon him, and by a feeling of pity and compassion for his brother, which affected him to an extraordinary degree, began to revolve many plans in his mind as to the best means he could adopt for rescuing his brother from the indignity of his confinement, and restoring him to the kingdom. The countess of Anjou, however, shrewdly anticipating his subtle plans, marched to Winchester with a very well-armed body of troops, with the intention, if it were possible, of intercepting the bishop; and as she privately entered one

gate, surrounded by a large number of followers, the citizens being wholly ignorant of her approach, the bishop, mounted on a swift horse, made his escape by another, and fled with all speed to his castle. She therefore issued a general proclamation, and summoned all the forces of her adherents throughout England to unite in one grand army; and gave directions for a close siege to be laid to the bishop's castle, which he had planted in the centre of the city, and constructed with infinite skill, and likewise to his house, which he had fortified like a castle in the strongest possible manner.

I think it now expedient to mention, in a few words, the names and quality of those who, after her forces had been mustered, rendered assistance to the countess in carrying on the siege, so that when these matters are thoroughly understood, the reader may mark, not the power of man, but the wonderful and all-powerful working of the divine arm, in the speedy conquest, dispersion, and well-nigh total annihilation of so powerful and numerous a body of soldiery, as we shall relate more at large hereafter. Amongst them was David, king of Scotland, who was twice, as has been mentioned before, ignominiously obliged to fly from England; and now for the third time, along with many others, was to be put to a shameful flight, to his own individual disgrace and the great danger of his people. There were also Robert, earl of Gloucester; Rannulf, earl of Chester; Baldwin, earl of Exeter; Reinald, earl of Cornwall, the illegitimate son of king Henry; Milo of Gloucester, whom, with the favour and good-will of all, she then created earl of Hereford; Roger, earl of Warwick; William de Mohun, whom she then made earl of Dorset; and one Boterell, earl of Brittany. And among the barons, who were in nowise inferior to the earls in fidelity and merit, in bravery and excellence, were Brien, of whom we have already made mention; John, surnamed Marescall; Roger de Oli; Roger de Nunant; William Fitz-Alan, and many others, whom it would be long and tedious to particularize. All these, bringing their forces with them from all parts in extraordinary numbers, joined together heart and soul, with unanimous and untiring perseverance, in besieging the bishop's castle.

The bishop, having summoned the barons who acknowledged the king's authority from all parts of England, and having expended a large sum in hiring mercenaries, directed all his energies to annoy the countess's party without the walls of the city. The queen, also, with a powerful body of troops and an indomitable band of Londoners, who assembled to the number of nearly a thousand, splendidly armed with helmets and coats of mail, commenced a most vigorous and strenuous siege from without against those who were besieging within. The king, moreover, had barons who were especially in his confidence, and particularly bound to him by ties of private friendship, not possessed, indeed, of large territories, but simply serving in the camp. Of these the most distinguished were Roger de Cheney and his brother William, warlike men, second to none in attention to military affairs, and of singular probity; who, when the king was taken prisoner, nevertheless preserved their fidelity to him unbroken, and at all times and in every place waged

a deadly warfare against his adversaries. And when the rest of the king's adherents had flocked to Winchester to subdue his enemies, they likewise annoyed and harassed them excessively on one side of the city with a well-equipped band of archers and men-at-arms. The siege which now took place was the most strange and singular of any which has happened in our time. For since the whole of England and an incredible number of foreign troops had united their forces there from all quarters, and were present in military array, they were mutually placed in such an awkward position, that they who were besieging the bishop's stronghold within the city walls were themselves besieged in the closest manner from without by the royal troops, to the constant peril of the men, and with the greatest possible damage to both parties. For, to say nothing of the men-at-arms who in the daily encounter were taken prisoners, sometimes on one side and sometimes on the other, or those who perished in different ways by different accidents, many other misfortunes happened; for whilst they were striving with all their ingenuity and skill to gain possession of the bishop's fortress, the greater part of the city and likewise two [1] abbeys were almost wholly reduced to ashes by the firebrands which were thrown out by the occupants of the castle. Moreover, as the king's party, posting bodies of armed men in all directions about the byeways leading to the city, kept a most scrutinizing watch that no provisions of any sort should be brought in, a grievous scarcity of food added at the misery of the citizens. It was therefore settled, and (as it seemed to them) prudently arranged by common consent, that an outpost should be constructed at the abbey of Werwell, about six miles distant from the city of Winchester, and three hundred soldiers sent to occupy it, that from thence a check might be given with greater ease to the king's troops, and supplies of food more conveniently sent into the city. But the king's party, turning this stroke of policy against its contrivers, marched suddenly and unexpectedly to Werwell with a very large body of men, and making a desperate rush upon them from all sides, captured and slew great numbers, and at length compelled the rest to yield and to betake themselves for refuge to the church. This they were making use of as a fortress, under cover of which to defend themselves, when some of their assailants, throwing in firebrands on every side, compelled them to rush half-burnt out of the church, and to seek for quarter upon any terms. It was indeed a wretched and horrible thing, to see how impiously and ferociously the bands of armed soldiery marched into the church, the home of piety and the house of prayer; especially since in one place men were slaughtering each other, and in another, were taken captive and bound in chains. On the one side, the fire was feeding on the roof of the church and the houses in a frightful manner; and on the other, the air resounded with the cries and wailings of the holy virgins, who unwillingly came forth from their cloisters at the bidding of the relentless flame.

Robert, earl of Gloucester, and the other adherents of the

[1] These were St. Mary's and the abbey of Hyde; see Dugd. Monast. i. 430, 452.

countess's party, when they heard of the lamentable issue of the above-mentioned misadventure, in utter despair of a longer prosecution of the siege, made arrangements as quickly as possible for securing their own safety by flight; for it was neither advisable nor safe for them to linger there any longer, on account of the sad misfortunes which had befallen their people, since it was notorious that the city had suffered a terrible conflagration at the hands of the bishop's men-at-arms, and that the inhabitants were suffering grievously from famine and pestilence; horrors which impended over themselves, unless they made their escape with the utmost speed. Gathering, therefore, their baggage together, they burst out of the gates at once, and cautiously disposing the troops in close order for a retreat, they all fled in a body. An immense number of the king's army, however, hemming them in on every side, made a bold and furious attack upon them; and dispersing the whole force of the enemy in different directions, at length intercepted and took prisoner the earl of Gloucester, the leader and commander of the rear, together with a large proportion of his men. The rabble finally spread themselves over the whole face of the country, and not only made prisoners all the men-at-arms they could lay their hands upon, but seized upon spoils of inestimable value, which lay scattered and exposed whithersoever they went. In one direction you might see chargers of splendid shape and form galloping riderless over the plain; in another, gasping out their last breath, worn out with extremity of fatigue. Here, shields and coats of mail, and armour of every kind, were lying strewed upon the ground; there, costly robes and vessels of precious metal, with other valuables, thrown out in heaps, presented themselves to the grasp of the finder. Why should I speak of the men-at-arms, nay, of the high barons, who, laying aside every token of military service, on foot, and in dishonour, gave themselves feigned names in their flight; some of whom, falling into the hands of the country people, were terribly scourged and beaten; others hiding themselves in filthy holes, either lay there, pale and full of fear, until they found an opportunity of escape, or else, being at last found by the enemy, were dragged along with disgrace and insult? Why should I make any mention of the Scotch king, who, captured, as they say, for the third time, but always getting off by the interposition of a bribe, with difficulty escaped to his own country, with but a few followers, in heaviness of heart and sorrow? Why need I speak of the archbishop of Canterbury, with certain other bishops and men of the highest rank in England, who, on their comrades being routed, and their horses and garments being captured by some, and violently dragged off by others, were barely able to get to places which afforded anything like security or shelter in the midst of the confusion? The countess of Anjou herself also, always rising superior to the weakness of her sex, and preserving beyond all others an unbroken spirit and an iron resolution in the midst of adverse fortunes, fled to Devises, accompanied by Brien only and a few followers; an action which redounded greatly to the credit both of Brien and herself, inasmuch

as it showed that neither danger nor adversity had power to separate them, or in anywise do away with the mutual and inseparable attachment which existed between them.

During the various vicissitudes of the flight and dispersion which, as has been explained, occurred in different localities, the Londoners, with a very large party of the king's troops, ransacked the city of Winchester in a fearful manner; and, after ruining and pillaging houses and cellars, and not a few churches, all returned home with great gladness, carrying with them a quantity of costly spoil and a multitude of prisoners. Such was the rout of Winchester, acknowledged by all to be so wonderful and terrible, that the oldest person can scarcely remember anything in our time to compare with it.

The earl of Gloucester having been in this wise taken prisoner, a short interval of time elapsed, after which an arrangement was made, and regularly entered into by the adherents of both parties, by which it was settled that, the king and the earl being mutually given up in exchange for each other, matters should stand upon the same footing as they were when the insurrection first broke out: a hard and unscrupulous condition, and calculated to be prejudicial to the whole country, but the only one by which present peace and amity seemed likely to be secured between the parties; for in the midst of the dissensions which attended the settlement of its terms, this agreement was at length proposed and willingly acceded to on both sides. The king, therefore, was given up, and was attended by a stately and magnificent procession of barons who went to meet him, the festivity and delight of all being augmented by an extraordinary admixture of piety and joy; for whilst some were moved to holy tears by an amiable and religious feeling of the loving-kindness which God had so wonderfully and mightily exhibited towards him; others broke out into loud and jubilant exclamations of happiness at the sight of his safe restoration.

BOOK THE SECOND.

WHEN the king was at length freed from the confinement of a prison, you might have believed that the dreadful wickedness which prevailed in the kingdom would now be terminated, and might possibly have imagined that both parties would have lamented the sufferings which had been felt to so great an extent, and would have joined with one accord in endeavouring to re-establish tranquillity; but the hand of the Lord was again heavy upon the people of England; and even as they had sinned against God in many ways, so were they chastised and beaten, as it is written, with many stripes. For the countess of Anjou, after the recovery of her health, (for she had been much broken down by the rout of Winchester, and nearly worn out by her fatigues,) with the fierce and intractable spirit which always distinguished her, marched to Oxford with a strong band of soldiers who recognised her authority. After encouraging and rousing her partisans to oppose

the king, she despatched several squadrons of horse to devastate the country on every side; by letters and messages she anxiously besought such as were bound to her by allegiance and fealty to use every means in their power to give her assistance, and established fortified places wherever she conveniently could, some for the purpose of more effectually restraining the king's forces, others for the better security of her own people. One of these she established at Woodstock, a favourite place of privacy with king Henry; another at a little village called Ratrota,[1] which was unapproachable on account of the streams and morasses by which it was surrounded; a third at the city of Cirencester, close to the holy church of the monks, like another Dagon beside the ark of the Lord; a fourth in the vill of Benton, upon the tower of the church itself, which was of admirable design, of ancient work, constructed with great labour and ingenuity; as well as many others which she allowed her adherents to fortify in the different districts of England. From these resulted a grievous oppression of the people, a general devastation of the country, and an increase in every direction of the seeds of war and discord.

King Stephen, however, on learning these proceedings, like one at length awakened out of sleep, vigorously and boldly shook off the chains of sloth and inertness; and, summoning his partisans to his aid, he advanced suddenly upon Cirencester, with a numerous array of resolute soldiers, and, finding the castle empty (the garrison having secretly dispersed), he committed it to the flames, and razed all the fortifications to the ground. He then boldly pursued his march to Benton and Ratrota, and after one had been forcibly taken, and the other spontaneously surrendered,—"thinking," as we read of Cæsar, "that nothing was done while aught remained to be done,"—he valorously marched to Oxford, with the intention of attacking the forces of the countess of Anjou. Oxford is a city with defences of great security, difficult of approach by reason of the great depth of the waters by which it is washed on all sides; the outwork very carefully environed with mounds on one side, and magnificently and formidably strengthened by a castle of impregnable strength, and a tower of great height on the other.

After the countess had betaken herself hither, with a splendid array of troops, too fearless both of herself and them, as well because the fortress and the whole of the surrounding district were brought under her authority, as on account of the exceeding strength of the place itself, (a thing which only constitutes the glory of those who assail it,) the king, moving on with a large and veteran body of troops, suddenly appeared on the opposite side of the river. Perceiving his adversaries issuing in great numbers out of the city, some of whom exasperated him and his followers, from whom they were only separated by the breadth of the river, by their insulting words, whilst others annoyed them terribly from the opposite bank by a constant shower of arrows, the king boldly

[1] Perhaps Radford, near Church-Eustace, or Ratford, near Chalgrove, both in Oxfordshire.

threw himself with the advanced guard into an ancient ford which had been pointed out. This was of great depth, but was forthwith crossed more by swimming than wading; and a violent and courageous attack being made upon the enemy, they were forcibly driven back to the very gates of the city, and a general encounter took place. When the troops had all accomplished the passage of the river after the king, they formed themselves into a compact body, and attacked the enemy, who fled, and the gates being open, took to the city for shelter. The royal troops being then promiscuously intermingled with their opponents, found no resistance in achieving an entrance within the walls; and having flung burning brands in every direction into the houses of the city, they gained the renown of a signal triumph over their adversaries. All were alike involved in the terrible issue of this unfortunate event, for as many as offered resistance they slew with the edge of the sword; whilst others were thrown into prison, and there detained until agreement should be made for their ransom. Some they drove out of the city again to seek the lurking-places which afforded them security in their rout; others, being hastily thrust into the castle with their mistress, were there closely beleaguered.

The king having thus obtained a victory, turned all his energies to the carrying on of a siege against the countess and her party, deeming that the dissensions existing in the realm would be speedily brought to an end if his forces could only overpower her who was the source and origin of all the discord. He therefore placed careful sentinels at intervals around the castle, with strict charges to watch all the approaches, night and day, with the utmost circumspection; and remaining there with a numerous army for the space of three months, he reduced the garrison to the utmost extremity of want and hunger. Since, however, all men are blind and utterly ignorant concerning the providence of God and His judgments, the thing which the king had proposed to accomplish with so much good management was suddenly turned by the Almighty in a contrary direction. For whilst he was bent upon an obstinate prolongation of the siege until the countess should be taken prisoner, she escaped unhurt, in the most wonderful manner, from the midst of such a multitude of foes, and eluded the vigilance of the guard whom the king had posted with the utmost care on every side of the castle to keep watch during the silent hours of the night. Provisions, and all the comforts of life, being well-nigh exhausted in the castle, and the king exerting all his strength to gain possession of it by the use of engines and the force he brought against it, the countess, being in great straits, and utterly despairing of the arrival of any aid, left the castle under cover of night, accompanied by three trusty men-at-arms, and travelled on foot, with great fatigue to herself and her companions, a distance of nearly six miles through frost and snow (for the whole country was white with a very heavy fall of snow, and the waters were hard frozen through the extreme intensity of the cold); and, what was the token of an evident miracle, she passed dry-shod, and without her garments being in the least wetted, over the very

waters which took the king and his men overhead when they passed them to attack the city. Through the midst of the king's guards also, who broke the silence of the night in all directions, on one side by the winding of their horns, on the other by loud shouts and yells, she withdrew from the castle, as has been stated, uninjured and without hindrance, not one of them being taken (a single person only on the king's side being privy to her departure, and the only one who made it known), and with much fatigue arrived in the night at Wallingford. Whether it were intended for the future increase and augmentation of her renown, or by the judgment of God for the aggravation of the disquietudes of the realm, I know not; but I never read of any woman having been so fortunately delivered from so many mortal foes, and from such great and imminent perils. For it is an undoubted fact that she got safe out of the castle of Arundel from the midst of her enemies; that she escaped unhurt from the hands of the Londoners who rose up against her, and whose whole fury was directed against her alone; then that she alone, when almost all her followers were cut off, got away from the rout at Winchester; and now, as has already been stated, she made her way in perfect safety out of her beleaguerment in Oxford.

When the king perceived that the prime mover of all the disquiet of his kingdom and the disturber of its peace, whom he longed and desired most anxiously to lay hold of, had shunned by her crafty contrivances the danger which hung over her head, he considered that it would be vain and useless any longer to carry on a protracted and laborious siege. For so many of his foes were pressing on him from all quarters, that misadventure and reverse of fortune might easily take him by surprise; more especially since Robert, earl of Gloucester, as soon as he heard that his sister was besieged, and could not muster force enough to go to her assistance, laid siege to and took the castle of Warham, where the king's troops had taken shelter, and commenced, with vigour and intrepidity, a continued system of annoyance and harass in all possible ways. Being strongly and prudently advised by his followers, the king accepted the surrender of the castle from the countess's soldiers; and having garrisoned it with his own troops, he exercised a powerful sway over a very wide district in that part of the country. After the lapse of a little time, he marched with a well-equipped body of soldiers to Warham, where the earl of Gloucester had very strongly fortified the castle; and seeing that the place was capable of offering a very firm resistance, he cruelly ravaged the country in every direction with fire and sword; and, having ransacked and plundered whatever came in his way, he came to Wilton, with the intention of putting the castle in a state of defence, in order to restrain the incursions made by the earl upon the surrounding district. The bishop of Winchester arrived, to give his assistance in the struggle, with a strong military force; and the barons, who were summoned from all parts of England, either joined the king on his march, or were in a state of readiness to flock to his standard with all the aid which they could muster.

When this became known to the earl of Gloucester, from the information of trustworthy messengers, he immediately summoned the chief partisans of his whole force, and marched to Wilton with the intention of engaging with the king. And when the king issued out of the city from the opposite side, with his army disposed here and there in squadrons, ready for an immediate encounter, the earl prudently arranged his followers in three divisions, side by side, in a warlike fashion; and making a violent assault upon his adversaries, his undaunted resolution obliged the king to give way, and if he had not quickly sought safety in flight, accompanied by the bishop of Winchester, he must have incurred the disgrace of falling a second time into the hands of the enemy.

A man of high rank, William, surnamed Martel, who was especially connected with the king by ties of allegiance and friendship, made some little resistance, for he and his men-at-arms fought with great courage; but when the larger portion of the royal army was dispersed in all directions, and had fled along with the king, the enemy surrounded him in such large numbers, and with such indomitable fierceness, that he was at last taken prisoner, along with many others. The earl (fortune so benignly smiling upon him) then commenced a hot pursuit of the king's followers, who were again seeking a safe shelter from the rout in the city and the churches; and, having flung burning brands in all directions throughout the city, he made it a day full of tears and of every sort of cruelty. For it is well known that rapine and violence, fire and sword, were universally inflicted in the most dreadful manner; in one direction upon the wretched inhabitants; in another upon any of the king's adherents upon whom they laid their hands. And, what was the most lamentable, they most ferociously broke the doors of the nunnery of the mother of God and St. Etheldreda[1] the virgin, and ravaged that venerable home of the holy maidens who were vowed to God's service. All regard to religion was shamefully trodden under foot; for whosoever had taken refuge within its holy walls were bound fast with cords, and dragged out with force and violence. And, indeed, although it may seem right and fitting to fight fiercely with our adversaries, and to measure unto them in their turn with the same measure wherewith they have meted unto us, the earl of Gloucester and his partisans are nevertheless exceedingly to be blamed, and to be branded with infamy, for the rash presumption which led them not only to violate the temple of souls, and the place which in every age was known as the sanctuary of the oppressed, but even to bare their swords, and drag from the altar those who had fled thereto in the hope of salvation and for the sake of safety, and there condemn them to captivity. But it was not done with impunity; for the righteous Lord, who looketh upon the calamities which are unjustly brought upon His servants, who rendereth to the wicked according to his deserts, inflicted His sternest vengeance upon them; for the son of Robert, earl of Gloucester, the pride and glory of his house,

[1] This was the nunnery of Wilton; see Tanner, Notit. Monast. p. 592.

came, shortly afterwards, to an early and untimely end. Milo also, the earl of Hereford, the fomenter and instigator of this great crime, was pierced with an arrow, and died that same year, without having time to utter a word in confession, or to receive the sacrament of penance. William, moreover, who was the governor of Salisbury at that time, and likewise the keeper of the castle, was tormented by horrible dreams,—the blessed Virgin herself, it is said, standing by him,—and was terrified by threats, and chastised by the direful punishment of an incurable malady, until at length he died, worn out with lingering and excruciating torments. Robert Fitz-Hildebrand, likewise, a man of mean birth, but a constant contriver of the most flagitious wickedness, came to his end under the infliction of the most horrible torture, such as has been unheard of in our times, as will be more fully narrated hereafter. Many others, also, experiencing the vengeance of the divine rebuke, received the doom of their rash and sacrilegious presumption; and I would be at the pains of relating many things concerning them in this work, were it not that I might seem to impose a tedious task on the reader, and myself wander far from the matter in hand.

Robert, earl of Gloucester, having thus gained the victory at Wilton, came to Bristol with much treasure, bringing with him William Martel also, whom he placed under very strict confinement, and a great number of other prisoners. The castle of Shirburn, which was put under his power, being at length surrendered, he regained possession of the principality of a very extensive district. Those who adhered to the king were at this time miserably oppressed and kept under, as well on account of the king's ignominious flight from the field of Wilton, when his followers were made prisoners, as because the earl of Gloucester had got the above-mentioned castle, which was a key to the whole kingdom, entirely into his power. The earl, indeed, and his partisans, were afterwards characterised by a gay and imperious demeanour; and he proceeded to reduce the realm in all its extent into a state of subjection to his authority, employing his power with great energy in the destruction of such castles as were in the possession of the king's party, and re-edifying others with great magnificence for their more effectual coercion,—thus bringing nearly one-half of England, from one shore to the other, to submit to whatever laws and ordinances he thought fit to impose, without the slightest resistance being attempted. His rule was greatly adorned by the peace and tranquillity which was everywhere re-established, except that in the building of his castles he levied a general tax for the prosecution of the works; and so often as he advanced to an encounter with his adversaries, he summoned all to contribute their aid, either by sending men or supplies of money. There was, indeed, a sort of shadow of peace in those parts, but as yet no perfect tranquillity; for nothing caused more trouble and anxiety to the inhabitants than to be struggling for others, not themselves, and to be carving out additional materials of war and discord in some way or other by their own swords.

In that part of the country every one was on the side of the earl, except Henry de Tracey, who, upholding the king's party, opposed the most determined resistance, carrying on a deadly war and having constant conflicts with all his opponents in every direction; until, being all well-nigh worn out by his protracted and harassing pertinacity, he determined upon establishing peace for a while with them, until the king should gain greater power in those parts, and, disturbances being allayed, the country should be in a state of greater submission to his authority.

About this time William de Pont de l'Arches, a man, as has been stated, who was singularly faithful to king Henry and his children, stirred up an insurrection of a very grave character against the king's brother, the bishop of Winchester. But as the bishop constantly resisted his attacks with the greatest bravery and resolution, and frustrated all his attempts, not only by force, but also by his sagacity and prudence, he addressed a letter to his mistress, the countess of Anjou, with a request that she would send him a strong reinforcement of horsemen, commanded by a leader of experience, and one well skilled in the art of war. When his petition was received, they were greatly delighted, either because they believed that the bishop's power would be more easily restrained by his means, or because they had great confidence in the strength which would be derived therefrom to the side of the countess; because he was not only most faithful and constant to those whose cause he espoused, but was, moreover, a person possessed of very great wealth. They sent, therefore, Robert Fitz-Hildebrand, a man of plebeian rank, but of allowed courage and bravery, yet (what is both disgrace and destruction to a warrior's glory and renown) he was a man of great cupidity, a drunkard, and a person of unclean life. On his arrival with a splendid body of men, he was received with a joyous welcome; and being fully admitted to William's confidence, he had free liberty of ingress and regress to the castle; and having conceived an unlawful affection for his wife, she gave her consent to his most base and abominable propositions, and having taken William, and bound him fast in fetters and chains, he threw him into close confinement. Having thus obtained possession of his fortress, his wealth, and his wife, he deserted and disdained the countess, who had sent him thither with so much honour, and entered into a league with the king and the bishop. But, as has been stated, the presumptuous audacity of a deed of such wickedness and treachery as this rash and filthy man contrived was not suffered to go unpunished; for from the time that the base adulterer lay in her unchaste and meretricious bosom, the righteous judgment of the Lord avenged his wickedness; a worm was bred among his intestines, which destroyed them by slow and gradual gnawings, and by little and little devoured the guilty wretch, who, worn out at length by a variety of torments, and excruciated by the most dreadful sufferings, came to his end by a most fitting punishment. The vengeance of God inflicted these punishments upon him, not alone on account of his treacherous and wicked life, but likewise because he had set

fire to the church which was dedicated to the holy virgin Adeldreda.[1]

England was at this time in a state of great disturbance in many and various ways, distressed on one side to a great extent by the king and his adherents, and perplexed and troubled exceedingly on the other by the earl of Gloucester; at one time obliged to endure their unbridled attacks, at another their disorderly tumults: the commotions were general and perpetual, and the country began to be reduced to the state of a desert. Some, seeing all that made their country pleasant turned into loathsome bitterness, preferred a habitation in a foreign land; others, in the hope of protecting themselves, built humble cottages by the side of the churches, and passed their life in fear and disquietude. Some, when food failed (for the horrors of famine prevailed over the whole of England), fed upon the strange and forbidden flesh of dogs and horses; whilst others, with insatiable appetite, consumed the uncooked refuse of roots and herbs to relieve the fierce cravings of hunger. Numbers of the people in every district died in heaps, perishing through the severity of the famine which prevailed; and numbers became banished from their country, sorrowfully submitting themselves and their families to voluntary exile. You might see villages of very considerable importance in a state of solitude and desertion, the inhabitants, of every age and sex, being no more. The fields were whitening for the harvest, but their cultivators were removed from among them by the direful effects of the dearth; and the whole face of England put on an appearance of calamity and sorrow, of misery and oppression. And, as a crowning point to the magnitude of these evils, a barbarous multitude formed themselves into a body for the sake of serving in the wars, and resorted to England in great numbers, who had no bowels of compassion, and were unmoved by common and ordinary pity for so many and so great miseries; but in every direction, throughout the strongholds, they conspired with one consent to perpetrate wickedness and crimes, employing themselves without cessation in plundering the poor, in fomenting dissensions on both sides, and applying all the energies of their wicked minds to the commission of general and universal havoc and slaughter. And when the barons who had brought them together from the remotest parts for their own aid could neither pay them their wages out of their own resources, nor satisfy their insatiable greediness, as they had been accustomed to do, out of booty and plunder (for they had not left a single place unpillaged or unharried), they began with extreme impiety—at one time by false accusations and violence, at another by levying tributes and exaction—to burden and oppress the territories of the church, wheresoever they adjoined their strongholds, or in other places where they could conveniently attack them by sending their troops. The former they stripped, either covertly or openly, forcibly plundering their possessions; the latter they shamelessly brought into subjection to their own authority. And if any monk of venerable character, or cleric of high reputation, came to make complaint of the extortion practised with

[1] See p. 102.

regard to the property of the church, he was presently insulted and reviled, terrified by unseemly and irreverent threatenings hurled against him; and the companions of his journey were frequently smitten with grievous blows before his eyes. Often, also, whatever might be the rank or order of the individual, after being disgracefully stripped or ruthlessly robbed of whatever he had brought with him, he was driven out of sight or left half dead with blows and most cruel usage. This palpable and woeful misery, these tragical and mournful practices, were openly and universally prevalent throughout England, and were moreover everywhere brought to the ears of the bishops. But, under the cowardly influence of fear, they were turned aside in all directions, like a reed shaken by the wind, and as salt which hath no savour, they made no opposition, and set themselves not as a wall for the defence of the house of Israel. For they ought to have encountered the carnally wise with the sword of the word of God, which devoureth the flesh, and to have presented the face of Jeremiah and the horned brow of Moses to the sons of Belial who violently oppressed the property of the church, and tearing asunder into pieces for themselves the robe of the Lord, left it everywhere rent and ragged. For they are represented under the figure of columns which bear up the house of God, under that of little lions which supported that laver of Solomon, and of the pillars on which rested the table of shew-bread, in order to show that they ought not only to sustain and give strength to, but also manfully and invincibly alway to defend from her enemies, the church, which is called, and assuredly is, the house of God; which is figured by the laver, because in it the filthiness of sins is washed and cleansed in various ways, and by the table also, because thereon the food of eternal life is set forth to view. The bishops, however, on the contrary, some of them sinking into inertness under the dread of the violence of these men, either succumbed to the spoilers who, as has been repeatedly detailed, plundered the possessions of the church, or else timidly and lukewarmly pronounced a sentence of excommunication which was to have no long duration, whilst others engaged in the not very episcopal work of filling their castles with abundant supplies of provisions and arms, and garrisoning them well with men-at-arms and archers. And while they were supposed to be occupied in coercing the church-spoilers, they were more cruel and always more ruthless than the offenders themselves, in oppressing their neighbours and pillaging their property. Yea, to their shame be it spoken, they, the very bishops themselves—not all indeed, but the greater number of them—with arms in their hands, and in full panoply, mounted on magnificent chargers, took a part in the marauding along with the undoers of their country. The men-at-arms whom the chances of war threw into their hands, or the wealthy persons with whom they happened to meet, they imprisoned and tortured: and, although they were themselves the fountain-head of this great wickedness and crime they were in the habit of laying all the blame of it upon their men and not taking it upon themselves. To say nothing, at present concerning others (for it is unseemly to find fault at the same time

with all), the names of the bishops of Winchester, Lincoln, and Chester, were commonly and openly inveighed against, as being engaged with greater determination than the rest in employments so singularly inconsistent with their holy calling.

Although, however, the strictness of ecclesiastical discipline was feebly carried out, being turned aside by the wickedness and disturbance which prevailed, Robert, bishop of Hereford, a man of deep religious principle and singular uprightness, was one who swerved not from his religious profession, and wandered not from the path of righteousness; but, taking up the weapons wherewith the apostle so carefully arms the man in the gospel, he at length courageously set himself as a shield of defence against the enemies of catholic peace. For when the earl of Hereford was in want of a large supply of money to hire the soldiery whom he had gathered together to oppose the king, he exacted from the churches which had been brought under the yoke of his authority the payment of new and unwonted taxes; and coercing the bishop, at one time under the colour of right, and at another attempting by threats to enforce his acquiescence, he required him also to submit to his tyrannical exactions. His demands were repeated with urgency and vehemence, but the bishop boldly and resolutely refused compliance; asserting that the possessions of the church, which had been allotted to the altar by the pious oblations of a devout people, were given up for ever into the hands of God Himself for the service of the church; that no secular person could on any pretence whatsoever exercise any right of property over the goods of holy church; and that the commission of sacrilege was involved in their seizure, even as though they had been dragged from the very altar itself. Wherefore the earl must either restrain himself and his followers from their presumptuous wickedness, or he would instantly smite them all with the sword of excommunication.

When the bishop thus expressed himself, the rage of Milo knew no bounds; and causing incursions to be made in every quarter where the bishop had land or property, he laid waste the whole of his territory. The bishop then lost no time in summoning a synod of his clergy, and pronounced the dread sentence of the church's vengeance upon Milo and the partners of his daring crime. He placed also the whole of the surrounding country over which his authority extended under so rigorous an interdict, that no divine office was allowed to be celebrated, no corpse permitted to be laid in the ground, nor yet to be committed to the waters, nor burned in the fire; nay, not even to be removed from the place where the breath of life had left it, until the sacrilegious spoiler should be restored to the communion of the church by the satisfaction of penance, after producing sureties for the restitution of what he had plundered, even to the uttermost farthing. But when, after this, it behoved the sureties to fulfil the engagements he had entered into, and when, in satisfying the claims of one church, he thereby laid heavy burdens upon many others, whose pastors he compelled to stand as sureties between himself and the bishop; in that very year, whilst he was hunting deer on Christmas-eve, his breast was

pierced by an arrow, which a soldier was carelessly aiming at a stag, and he came to a miserable end without having received absolution His death struck considerable terror into the minds of some of the rich and powerful, and caused them to abstain afterwards from such abrupt invasions of the territories of the church, and inspired the rest of the bishops of England with greater boldness thenceforth in resisting their daring aggressions. Roger his son, who, though but a stripling in point of age, was a pattern of all that was upright and honourable, succeeded Milo in the earldom of Hereford.

Among the followers of the king at that time was Galfrid de Mandeville, a man remarkable alike for the power of his intellect, and for his unbending courage and constancy under adverse circumstances; eminent also for his tried skill in the science of war. In the amount of his wealth and the extent of his authority, he far exceeded all the great barons of the realm. He had possession of the Tower of London, and other castles of great strength, which were built round the city, as well as of every part of the kingdom which had submitted to the king's authority; to the end that, as he was acting as the king's representative in all parts of the realm, he might gain a more attentive hearing than the king in the transaction of business, and receive a more ready obedience than was yielded to Stephen, as regarded the laws which were to be imposed. The more intimate friends and adherents of the king ill brooking this,—for two reasons: first, because Galfrid, as it appeared, had astutely usurped all the regal authority; and secondly, because it was in every one's mouth that his intention was to place the countess of Anjou upon the throne, secretly persuaded and urged the king to seize upon Galfrid as a notorious traitor, and to enforce the surrender of the fortresses which he held; alleging that, when this was done, he himself would be more secure personally, and his kingdom would be in a more peaceable condition. The king delayed proceeding in the matter for a length of time, that the dignity of his regal office might not suffer by the commission of a base act of treachery. A quarrel, however, suddenly sprung up between Galfrid and the barons, and insults and threats were bandied on both sides. On the king endeavouring to put a stop to their dissensions, and to quiet the contending parties, certain persons came forward and openly accused Galfrid of acts of disloyalty and treasonable practices against the king and his followers. And, when he made no attempt to clear himself from the charge brought against him, but bore down the base aspersion cast upon him by jests and ridicule, the king and the barons who were present suddenly made him prisoner. These things, just as they have been related, took place at St. Albans.

The king then brought Galfrid to London under a strict guard, and was prepared to hang him unless he delivered the Tower into his hands, and likewise the fortresses which he had erected with singular labour and skill. His friends prudently persuaded him to avoid the impending danger of a disgraceful death by the surrender of the fortresses, and at length he acceded to the king's wish; and having thus obtained his liberty, he escaped from their hands, to

the general disturbance of the whole realm. For, fierce and turbulent, his tyranny threw the whole of England into a state of the utmost discord, since the enemies of the king, on hearing that he had taken up arms against the royal cause, were encouraged by the alliance of so powerful an earl, and flocked with additional promptitude and gladness to the prosecution of their rebellion, whilst they who were on the king's side were in a state of still greater depression, and were as though they had been smitten by a terrible thunderbolt, on account of his secession from the king.

Galfrid then, having assembled together his sworn vassals and allies from all quarters, together with a very strong band of mercenaries and freebooters, who rushed with ardour from every side to join his ranks, and uniting themselves at the same time under his banner, began to carry fire and sword throughout the country in every direction. His depredations of the flocks and herds proceeded with insatiable avidity; and he opposed the king's party by plundering, consuming, stripping, and destroying everything that belonged to them. He spared neither old nor young, and the sanctity of a religious vow was no protection. Raging with an ungovernable thirst of wickedness, whatever refinement of cruelty came into his mind was instantly wreaked upon his adversaries. Rushing upon the city of Cambridge, which was in the possession of the king, while the citizens were keeping careless watch, he captured and plundered it, broke violently into the churches, burying his axes in the doors; and having pillaged the valuables and goods which the citizens had stored up in them, he set fire to them on all sides. His ravages were carried with like ferocity into all the surrounding district, and were ruthlessly directed against all the churches that came in his way. The territories of the monastic houses he reduced to a desert, all their possessions being plundered and laid waste. With fearless and impious ferocity he carried off their shrines, and the contents of their treasuries. The monastery of St. Benedict of Ramsey he ransacked, not only seizing upon the property of the monks, but stripping even the altars and the relics of the saints; and having relentlessly expelled the monks from their abode, he filled up their place with his men-at-arms, and turned the abbey into a stronghold for himself.

So soon as the king heard of these presumptuous and daring disturbances, and the lawless outbreaks which Galfrid made throughout the whole of the neighbouring district, he marched with speed at the head of a very strong body of troops for the purpose of checking his mad and headlong career. But since he cunningly withdrew himself from an encounter with the king,—at one time retreating with speed to the refuge which that part of the country so abundantly affords in its swamps and morasses, at another time leaving the district whither the king had pursued him, and betaking himself and his men in another direction, with the crafty intention of creating disturbances elsewhere,—the king constructed forts in suitable places, with the prudent intention of checking his incursions upon the country; and after filling them with garrisons sufficiently strong to resist the ravagers, he turned in another direction to pro-

secute other affairs of state. Galfrid, however, on the king's departure, unremittingly directed all the strength of his efforts against the party whom he had left behind for the purpose of annoying him; having at the same time associated with him as many of the king's enemies as had gathered together from different parts, and having likewise entered into an alliance with Hugh Bigot, a man of high rank and influence in that part of the country. His inducement to make Hugh his confederate was the perseverance with which the latter directed his attacks against the king's party, and the ferocity which he displayed throughout the whole country, mercilessly sparing neither lay nor cleric, male nor female. But God, the most just regarder of such great and savage persecutions, and of such barbarous calamities as this man brought upon a whole people, at length put a righteous termination to his iniquitous life. For whilst with overmuch audacity, and too great reliance on his own skill, he was continually making an uproar around the forts in which the royal forces lay, he was at last surrounded by those very troops and slain: and as, during life, he was the dismay of the church, and the troubler of the earth, so now the whole of the church in England united to confound him; for he departed excommunicated and unabsolved, and the earth was not permitted to give a grave to the sacrilegious offender.

Galfrid's life having been thus brought to an end, a certain darkness and dread filled the minds of all the enemies of the royal cause, and those who thought that the king's projects would be greatly weakened by the revolt which had been excited by Galfrid began to think, now that he was slain, that Stephen would be more at liberty, and better prepared, as things stood, to throw them into confusion. They did not, however, in any wise restrain themselves from those acts of wickedness and impiety which were their characteristics of old; but urged forward by a malignant spirit to every sort of villany, they set themselves with so much the greater earnestness to stir up strife and discord, and rushed the more ardently into the commission of the most flagitious deeds in every corner of England. For the earl of Chester distressed the whole of the north country by constant inroads, annoying such of the neighbouring barons as were on the king's side by perpetual onslaughts; sometimes seizing upon their strongholds by wily stratagems, and getting them into his own hands; at other times, devastating and depopulating their lands and territories, like as if they had been an enemy's country, with fire and sword. He breathed, in short, nothing but war and dismay, and appeared before all as an unbearable and raving madman. John, also, that firebrand of hell and root of all wickedness, who had the command of the castle of Marlborough, disquieted the realm with untiring restlessness, constructing fortresses of splendid workmanship in situations the most suited to his purposes, bringing the possessions and territories of the churches under his own rule and authority, after expelling their owners, of what order soever they might be. And when the ecclesiastical arm was raised to smite him with the sword of excommunication, he succumbed not a whit, but became

more and more hardened; for he compelled clergy of the highest rank to come in a body to his castle on days appointed, and, as though invested with episcopal dignity, he was in the habit of laying his commands upon them, either concerning the payment of a tax, or the compulsory performance of work. The sons also of Robert, earl of Gloucester, in the flower of their age as regarded vigour and activity, and well versed and exercised in the art of war, created disturbances in the southern part of the kingdom; and being animated by the bravery and resolution of their father, they erected fortresses in one direction where they perceived there would be a commanding position; in another, they surprised and seized upon those belonging to their neighbours. At one time, forming their troops into a body, they made continual attacks upon their adversaries; at another, they laid waste their territories in every direction with sword and havoc. They made themselves masters, indeed, of a very large tract of country, extending across the island from sea to sea, the activity of their father being prominently visible in all their proceedings; and having acquired the dominion of a very wide principality, they put on a show of peace, and imposed laws and statutes everywhere; and although they might appear to have abstained from violence and devastation in respect of those who took their side, yet such was their thirst of gain, that they involved all without exception in taxes, lawsuits, and exactions.

Stephen de Mandeville, moreover, a man of high rank and devoted to military pursuits, who also vehemently espoused the cause of the earl of Devon, was the occasion of very great disturbance in the kingdom, by repairing anew the fortresses which a former age had planted, under the pressure of necessity, on rugged and precipitous heights. He also brought a very wide extent of surrounding country under his tyrannical yoke, and was exceedingly obnoxious to the king's adherents whensoever they came in his way. All these, and many others whom at present we forbear to enumerate, lest we should weary the patience of the reader, were assiduous in opposing and weakening the power of the king. And when his endeavours were earnestly directed to subdue the disorders which had arisen in the country, the whole of them suddenly gathered together into one body, and used the utmost vigilance to frustrate his purpose. In like manner the king's troops, also, in every province of England, at one time by combining their forces, at another by unlooked-for attacks, established places of defence for themselves wherever they judged it most convenient; and thus the whole face of the country, instead of being as formerly the seat of gladness and rest, of tranquillity and peace, became changed into a scene of discord, devastation, and slaughter.

At that time, William de Dovre, a man of military skill, astute and stern, who was supported by the forces of the earl of Gloucester, marched upon a town called Cricklade, which is situated in a delightful spot of the utmost fertility. He there set himself very busily to work in the erection of a fort, which was rendered

inaccessible by the waters and morasses which surrounded it on all sides; and being followed by a numerous body of mercenary soldiers and crowds of archers, he pursued his devastations in all directions with restless ferocity; and bringing a wide extent of country, on each bank of the Thames, under subjection to his authority, his rage and cruelty against the king's troops knew no bounds. At one time, he would surround their fortresses with the utmost fury, and make a most ferocious attack; at another, he would try to entrap them by nocturnal ambuscades; so that the country had no respite from their constant attacks, and never could be said to be free from peril on one side or other. Although, however, his perseverance and activity were everywhere displayed in obstructing the king's party, his fiercest and most frequent attacks were made upon the inhabitants of the city of Oxford, or else upon the garrison of the stronghold of Malmesbury; for, as near neighbours, they were a constant source of trouble by their attacks upon him and his followers. The earl of Gloucester, also, having in a short space of time erected three forts near to Malmesbury, whilst the king was detained elsewhere in quelling some disturbances, not only obstructed with wariness their usual outbreaks over the country, but continually and steadily kept them within bounds, even to the point of perishing by famine.

When the king, however, received a correct statement of these heavy sufferings to which his adherents were subjected, he presently assembled a strong and numerous body of troops, and made a sudden and unlooked-for descent upon Malmesbury; and having supplied the place with provisions sufficient to last a length of time, he made dreadful havoc in the neighbourhood of the forts which the earl had erected, devastating the country with fire and sword. He then pitched his camp round Tetbury, a stronghold three miles distant from Malmesbury, and laboured most resolutely with his forces in the endeavour to capture it. An outwork of the fortress being at length valorously carried, some of the men-at-arms being taken and slain, whilst others were desperately wounded and driven back in a heap into a narrow corner within the inner walls, he brought his engines to bear on all sides with the utmost energy, with the intention of blockading them. But so soon as the earl of Gloucester became aware of the king's arrival, he lost no time in summoning a large number of men-at-arms, for he had a great many of the neighbouring castles in his power, some of them his own rightful possessions, others of them being most faithfully devoted to his service; and he had assembled a fierce and dauntless army of foot-soldiery, consisting of a multitude of Welsh, and men from Bristol and other neighbouring cities, as though he were about to come to an engagement with the king. Roger, earl of Hereford, and others of eminent bravery, speedily made their appearance, having combined their forces with the unanimous object of acting as his auxiliaries; and surrounding the royal army, with a space of only two miles between them, they waited at a distance, until such others as were hastening to come to them should likewise arrive with their reinforcements.

When the barons who accompanied the king heard of the jeopardy they were in, from the enormous multitude of adversaries who had flocked together, dreading the lawless barbarism of the Welsh, and the disorderly mob of Bristol men, whom the earl of Gloucester was bringing in a united phalanx, in such extraordinary numbers, to attack them, they suggested to the king, with much prudence, that he should raise the siege for a time, and withdraw his troops in another direction, where their services appeared to be called for. They gave this advice because it was unadvisable and hazardous to expose a force far inferior in numbers to the attacks of such an overwhelming multitude of foot, but especially on account of his troops being so far distant from their own homes, and being fatigued by the toils of their march; whilst the enemy, on the contrary, issuing from their cities and fortresses close at hand, would rush to the battle with so much the greater resolution because they were fresh from their quarters, and unbroken by the weariness of a lengthened journey. It was prudent, therefore, they added, to desist at present from the prosecution of the siege, lest, being surrounded by the fierce masses of the enemy, and involved in adverse fortunes, he should have to endure the loss of his followers. Upon consideration of the matter, the king acquiesced in their cautious advice; and the whole of his array being hastily moved from that quarter, he suddenly marched to Winchcombe, where Roger, the new earl of Hereford, had erected a fortress in opposition to his adherents: and finding the castle planted on a shelving precipice, with a very high wall, surrounded on all sides with defences of exceeding strength, but with only a scanty garrison to defend it, (for the news of his sudden and unlooked-for arrival had caused them to take flight,) he gave orders for some of the most able soldiers to arm themselves, and get ready with the utmost alacrity to storm the castle; some to keep up a thick and continued shower of arrows, others to scale the mound on their hands and knees, whilst all were to keep up a constant and untiring circuit round the walls; and every missile that came to hand was to be discharged into its interior.

Whilst the king and his followers were labouring with so much activity and energy to accomplish the capture of the fortress, the besieged, utterly unable to endure the impetuous attack of such powerful adversaries, at length surrendered the castle under mutual pledges. The spirits of his followers being revived, they made incursions upon the country far and wide; and, after the erection of a number of castles in the county of Gloucester, the king advanced against Hugh Bigot, the most restless enemy to the peace of the realm. When Hugh first understood that Stephen had entered Gloucestershire for the purpose, as it was reported, of carrying on a determined siege, he thought that it would involve his tarrying there for a length of time, and laid himself out to commit devastation and havoc, with all his might, in the neighbourhood of the king's castles. Stephen, however, making a sudden descent upon him before he was aware of his approach, totally upset all his plans; and having taken some of his men prisoners,

and dispersed the rest in every direction, he burnt and utterly destroyed everything in his territory; and having erected three fortresses in the district upon which Hugh was making the most frequent descents, he remained quietly there for a length of time.

About that time one Turgis, a man of Norman extraction, who sprang, it was said, from the city of Orleans, commenced a revolt against the king. This appeared an absurd and well-nigh incredible thing to every one who heard of it; as well because he was reckoned to hold a high place in the king's confidence and in all the councils of the palace, as because, from a plebeian origin and a home of poverty, he had achieved for himself a most fruitful conjunction of riches and honours; and it seemed marvellous to all that, after he had received so many benefits and experienced so much favour and friendship from the king, he could in any wise rebel against him. The origin and cause of the quarrel was as follows:—The king had committed to his hands the castle of Walden, and all the surrounding district, for the sake of safe custody more than as an actual possession; and when the king wished to make use of his usual entrance into the castle, inasmuch as it was, as he conceived, his own rightful possession, and acquired by his own toil, Turgis, fearing that it might end in the castle being committed to the keeping of another, altogether refused him admittance, and withdrew himself and his followers, with much cunning and caution, from the sight of the king and from intercourse with the court; ignorant, assuredly, of what was in store for him,—how God, that is to say, the Almighty Disposer of things to whom and as He will, had predetermined for him a reverse of fortune, and that the castle should be no longer in his hands. For it fell out at a certain time that Turgis issued forth from that very castle, intent upon the enjoyment of the pleasures of the chase, which, as he was joyfully following with hound and horn, some of the dogs pursuing their game by the acuteness of their scent, others by the swiftness of their foot, behold, by an auspicious chance, or, as I should rather say, by the good providence of God, the king suddenly and unexpectedly made his appearance, followed by a very strong body of men-at-arms. And when it was whispered to him that his enemy had come forth from the castle, and was then in his power, he quickly gave orders for him to be attacked on all sides; and being captured without delay, and fast bound in chains, he commanded him to be hung up before the castle gate, unless he chose to save his life by surrendering the fortress. Turgis was in a strait, for, on one side, to give up the castle, the stronghold of his whole hopes, would be a grievous and most annoying thing, and, on the other hand, nothing was more certain than that his only mode of escaping from the king's hands lay in its surrender. At length, however, he consulted his own safety, and yielded to the king's demand.

Whilst matters were thus going on in that part of the country, and whilst the king's presence was required in other places, for the purpose of quelling other disturbances, the followers of the earl of Gloucester, namely William de Dovre and his men-at-arms, (o

whose cruel proceedings we have already given a short narrative,) unceasingly harassed the king's party; at one time directing all their animosity against those whom the king had left in the city of Oxford for the defence of the country, carrying on their rapine and havoc, in the most savage manner, with fire and sword; at another time making very frequent and furious onsets against those who acted as the king's lieutenants in the defence of Malmesbury. These attacks never took place without most grievous injury being done to the surrounding district, nor without irreparable losses on both sides; and they were carried on incessantly by William, until at last he surprised and took prisoner Walter, to whom the king had entrusted the chief command of his forces at Malmesbury, a man of great resolution, and a tried and veteran soldier. He delivered over his prisoner to the countess of Anjou and her son; and, being smitten with remorse for the afflictions and evils he had so mercilessly brought upon the people, he went on his way to the holy places of Jerusalem, for the expiation of his sins; and, having there performed many glorious and valorous deeds in fighting against the stubborn enemies of the christian faith, he at length died happily on the field of battle.

The countess of Anjou having gotten possession of the individual whom of all her enemies she most bitterly hated, endeavoured, at one time by honied words and flattering speeches, at another by terrible threats of torments and death, to induce him to give up the castle of Malmesbury into her hands. But he steadily refused, and could neither be wrought upon in the slightest degree by the fair words of feminine persuasion, nor yet moved by oft-repeated threatenings to surrender the fortress. Indeed, if, as far as he was concerned, he had been inclined to yield, it was impossible; for his comrades of the royal troops, who on his capture made their way back into the castle, would in no wise consent; and the king, on hearing that Walter was taken prisoner, came as speedily as possible, and reinforced the garrison with both men and provisions; after which he departed elsewhere, as need required. The countess then, being disappointed of her hope, was full of rage against Walter; and actuated solely by a cruel disposition, she had him straitly bound in fetters of iron, and exposed to all the torment and filth of a prison.

On the departure of William de Dovre (of whom we have already made mention) from the castle of Cricklade, Philip, son of the earl of Gloucester, was placed in command there, with a very strong body of men. He was a quarrelsome and singularly ferocious man, fool-hardy in undertaking unworthy enterprises, and an adept, in short, in all kinds of wickedness. Philip was also violent in the extreme in his animosity to the king's adherents, wheresoever they were; sometimes laying waste their territories by predatory incursions, and burning all before him; and sometimes he would march in military array with his men to besiege their strongholds. In one direction he would extend by violence the boundaries of his own lordship, in another he would indiscriminately attack and take possession of the rights of others. To sum

up all, it was reported of him that in plundering the property of the church, in every place whithersoever the violence of his ferocity carried him, he was most oppressive and intolerable. At that time William de Chamai was governor of the city of Oxford, and the commander and leader of the royal army, who with his soldiers frequently opposed a prompt and vigorous resistance to Philip's violence; so that the mutual quarrels and strife that took place between them gave the whole of that part of the country an aspect of misery and wretchedness. In process of time, since Philip sometimes had the upper hand, either by reason of the help he obtained from his father, or because the adherents of the countess of Anjou flew to his aid, whenever there was need, with the utmost promptitude, he advised his father to advance nearer to Oxford; and, having erected forts in the most suitable positions, carefully to blockade every place at which the king's soldiers might find an exit. On receiving this advice he was easily induced to comply; and, having gathered all his forces together, he came to a village which in the English language is called Faringdon, a pleasant place and abundantly supplied with provision, where he erected a fort exceedingly well defended by a mound and outworks; and having furnished it with a garrison composed of the flower of his whole army, he put an effectual check upon the attacks which the king's troops were in the habit of making when they issued out of Oxford and the surrounding strongholds to annoy his people. The royal forces were now, in truth, in a state of the most strict blockade; their adversaries pressing upon them to such a degree that it was impossible for them to stir out of the walls of their castles; they therefore took the only course which was open to them, that of applying with all speed, by letters and messengers, for the king's assistance.

When the king heard of the straits to which his followers were reduced, and of the strong force which the enemy had brought against him, he marched thither without any delay with a very large body of men, although he was obliged to leave some pressing business unattended to. When he arrived at Oxford he remained quiet for a few days, until he had received a reinforcement to his army; but having at length gathered his troops together in great numbers, he drew the lines of his encampment around the castle of Faringdon, with the intention of pressing on a siege. He then instructed his followers to apply themselves to a work prodigious indeed, but not ineffectual; namely, that they should securely surround themselves with a mound and outworks, so as to avoid the annoyance of a sudden attack from the enemy, and, sheltering themselves within it, as in a place of refuge, they might take better care for themselves, and encounter their foes, when it might be needful, with more security and greater boldness. He lost no time, therefore, in the erection of engines around the castle, constructed with admirable skill, and also distributed companies of archers in close array around the circuit of the walls, to the grievous annoyance of the besieged; for on one side showers of stones, or whatever other missiles were discharged by the engines, came rushing upon them overhead, and

struck them down in all directions; on the other side a terrible hailstorm, as it were, of arrows flying round in their sight galled them most dreadfully. One while darts hurled from afar, or some great mass launched within the walls by the brawny sinews of the assailants, distressed them grievously, while at another time a valiant body of young troops, courageously scaling the steep ascent of the lofty mound, entered into a sharp conflict with them, the stakes alone dividing them. In this manner the king's troops annoyed the besieged by constant and daily attacks, and they, on the other hand, defended themselves with invincible resolution and courage; until at length, unknown to the rest, their leaders sent privately to the king, and entered into a satisfactory compact with him for the surrender of the castle. The fortress, therefore, being placed at the king's disposal, the favour of the Almighty added a great accession of glory to his good fortune; for not only did he enrich his comrades to an extraordinary extent from the capture of those who surrendered themselves on conditions of ransom, and out of the stores of arms and rich spoil which were found in such great abundance within the fortress, but, moreover, he inspired his enemies with the greatest terror by the victory which he had so valiantly achieved. For his adversaries, on learning that he had obtained so signal a triumph, became more and more disheartened; some taking up arms against him with less heartiness and ardour, while others, fearing for themselves, entered into conditions of peace and amity with him as speedily as they could. The earl of Chester, indeed, who, by force of arms, was in possession of well-nigh a third part of the kingdom, came with meekness as a suppliant to the king; and being at last penitent for his cruel and perfidious acts against him, in employing his forces in opposition to his king and lord in the taking of Lincoln, and in invading and usurping to such an extent the possession of the royal territories, a treaty of alliance was renewed between them, and he was restored to favour. In many respects, moreover, he strengthened the king's hands with more activity and fidelity than he had been wont; for on joining him he took the city of Bedford with great valour, a place which had constantly opposed the king's authority; under whose control he placed it after its capture. He also not only made a prompt and vigorous attack upon those who had taken refuge in the castle of Wallingford, and were scattering the seeds of war and tumult throughout all parts of the realm, but moreover, bringing along with him three hundred horsemen of great bravery, he never left the king's side until, by the erection of a fort, with wonderful labour and skill, over against Wallingford, he had checked for a while the incursions which they were in the habit of making over the country. Yet, although the earl, after their alliance was renewed, appeared to be a fair-spoken and faithful supporter of the king, he was an object of suspicion both to him and to all the barons of his realm; a feeling which arose from his neglecting to render an account of the monies belonging to the royal exchequer, and to give up the castles of which he had forcibly possessed himself, and also because of the natural levity and inconstancy of his fickle disposition; to guard against

which no security was given in the shape of either hostages or sureties. Hence neither the king nor his principal counsellors placed any reliance on the earl's fidelity; but, amidst the many and great disturbances which affected the kingdom, they carefully watched how things would turn out, until it should be seen whether he would entirely give up the possessions which rightfully belonged to the king, and become a firm and true adherent of the royal cause; and if he should absolutely decline to do so, the king would then seize upon the first convenient opportunity for laying hands upon and making him his prisoner. The manner in which this eventually happened will be more fully and regularly detailed hereafter.

Philip also, the son of the earl of Gloucester, (of whom we have already made a brief mention,) perceiving that the king at that time had the superiority, entered into a treaty of peace with him; and having had a number of castles and many broad lands granted to him, and many munificent gifts conferred upon him by the royal bounty, he gave pledges for his fealty to Stephen; while breathing forth nothing but threatenings and obloquy against the enemies of the royal cause, he violently ravaged and plundered the country in every direction with fire and sword. Nay, to such an intolerable extent did this proceed, that, not content with reducing the territories and possessions of the barons who opposed the king to a desert waste and a wretched solitude, he even committed similar devastations on the lands of his own father, making himself a proverb and a by-word everywhere for his savage cruelty. For he had an unconquerable band of soldiery, and a number of fortresses in his possession; some of which had been committed to his keeping by grant from the king, and others which he had wrested from his adversaries by the force of his own arm; for he had taken prisoner Robert Musard, as he was issuing, with what one must call a very imprudent want of caution, from his castle. Philip was laying in ambush, and happened to fall in with him as he came forth, and, twisting a rope round his neck and threatening to hang him, he laid violent hands upon his fortress. He, moreover, made prisoner Reinald, earl of Cornwall, and a considerable body of his troops, when the earl was relying on the truce which had been entered into with the king, and was advancing with the countess to re-establish conditions of peace with him. But, because this capture was made without the knowledge of Stephen, and hastily and unlawfully on the part of Philip, seeing that a mutual truce and cessation from hostilities had been entered into by both parties, he at length set the earl at liberty, and thus appeased the king's anger. The king and the countess, attended by their respective adherents, then had a meeting for the purpose of establishing peace; but they effected nothing, on account of the arrogance and assumption which existed on either side, both one and the other being full of dissension. For those who advocated the cause of the countess, setting up her claim to the chief authority in the realm as a matter of right, strove to deprive Stephen of the name and dignity of a king; while he, on his part, not only

claimed to hold lawfully what he possessed, but also asserted most positively that he would relinquish nothing to them, no matter how it had been acquired. The feelings and sentiments of both sides being thus opposite, they returned afresh to their usual state of discord.

At that time Henry de Caldoet, and his brother Ralph, were committing great devastations in the county of Gloucester. They were men of great valour, well prepared to encounter the hardships of war, having traversed the whole of England in former campaigns from one corner to another, remarkable for their treachery and perfidiousness, ever ready to stir up dissension and to plunder in all directions, and eager in the extreme to commit any wickedness or sacrilege. Having acquired the possession of certain fortresses, partly by clandestine means and partly by the valour of their arms, they harassed all their neighbours, and especially the church lands, in a variety of ways. For they not only placed them under the yoke of a most cruel slavery in respect of various oppressive services, and other exactions of different kinds, but they made themselves perfectly intolerable to all, by the thefts and robberies, the havoc and slaughter, which they committed. The frequency, therefore, of their spoliations of the territories of the churches in those places led to their excommunication, and they repeatedly incurred the anathema of the church; until, at length, being punished by the stripes of divine vengeance, they both received the punishment due to their crimes. One perished miserably, being hung up before the gates of his own castle; the other, having surrendered the fortress of which he was in possession, at length made a disgraceful flight from England, in great poverty, and covered with insults. And of a surety here was fulfilled that sentence of divine inspiration, where God is described as being long-suffering in avenging the evil deeds of the wicked; because, after they had hardened their necks with inflexible obstinacy and pride, He bore with them for a long season, in order that they might be turned to a better way; and, after the flagitious violence which their insatiate tyranny practised in every place, and, above all, in the territories of the church, He waited with the utmost long-suffering; but, at length, bringing them to the lowest depth of disgrace and ignominy, He smote them both, as has been said, with the blow of most just punishment: and they who seemed in pomp and glory, in dominion and power, not only to exceed all the neighbouring barons, but also to extend their influence far and wide over the kingdom, suddenly experienced the mutability of fortune's slippery path, and were brought to nothing, along with all their followers. Blessed be God over all, who delivered over the wicked to confusion! Their castles, and the widely-extended possessions over which they had acquired the rule, submitted in a short time to other masters; some contriving to achieve their entrance by the exercise of treachery, others acquiring the command of them by the outlay of money; but all working towards one and the same calamitous and wretched end, namely, to extend the unbridled licentiousness of their tyranny over the people, and, setting at nought all treaties and conditions of peace, to stir up all manner of strife and discord.

About the same time, also, Walter, brother of the earl of Hereford, with the consent, as it was said, of that earl, surprised and took prisoner Roger de Berkley; an individual whose person ought to have been sacred, not only by reason of the ties of friendship and the mutual treaties and covenants of peace which existed between them, but also on account of their propinquity in blood. Stripped of his garments, and exposed to insults, and straitly bound in fetters, he was drawn up thrice by a rope attached to his neck in front of a castle which he had in the neighbourhood, and then, his bonds being slackened, he was thrown down again to the ground. By such unseemly means did they threaten his death, nay, in default of his delivering up his castle to the earl, they drove him to the slaughter in the most cruel manner, and at last departed, carrying off with them the wretched and nearly lifeless body of this Roger, to whose entreaties they refused to listen. A slender spark of life yet flickered in his worn-out frame, and they reserved him for a prolongation of suffering in prison.

Philip, concerning whom we have already made mention, highly exasperated at the insults and injuries to which Roger had been subjected, in the first place, because he had undertaken to afford him protection, and in the second, because he had married his niece, commenced a system of havoc and plunder; and being full of indignation and ferocity, he set himself to devastate the whole province, and to bring it entirely under his authority. After fortune had occasionally smiled upon him, and his martial enterprises had been attended by some fortunate results, he was suddenly smitten by the divine rod, and fell into a state of hopeless and lingering sickness; and being for a length of time broken in bodily strength and energy, he altogether forswore the cruel designs he had conceived; and binding himself and his faithful adherents under a vow to go to Jerusalem, he set forth upon a voluntary pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

At that time a barbarous multitude of pagans, opposed to our religion, had prevailed so much in opposition to the name of Christ, that they had not only, by force of arms, brought under their power the most opulent countries and cities of Christendom, but also overrun the country in crowds around Jerusalem, (that city of cities, and chief glory and renown of the army of Christ,) slaughtering some, and (shame to say) leading others into captivity; and, what is dreadful to relate, they banded themselves together to do away with the church, to tread under foot the holy places, and to abolish the name of Christ from the midst of them. The news of these disgraceful oppressions, complained of throughout the world, was brought to the holy ears of the mother church; and then were the kingdoms moved, the dominions of the world were shaken, and all its inhabitants girded themselves manfully for the work of avenging their common disgrace and injury. And although the flower and strength of England, and all who were distinguished for manly courage and bravery of soul, flocked with the utmost readiness to punish these insults, so that you might have supposed England to have been left empty and drained, (such multitudes

were departing thither from all quarters,) yet discord and havoc, the sword and the enemy, ceased not therein. The place of those who departed was quickly filled by others, who were even more hot and eager in the commission of evil in proportion to the shortness of the time which had witnessed their accession to their unrighteous work.

Hastily seizing, then, upon every opportunity of cruelty and wickedness, one urged another on to the commission of crime and villainy. They endeavoured to lay hold of and slaughter one another with the utmost eagerness; and so it came to pass that justice was forcibly trodden under foot, the laws were of none effect, and there were contentions everywhere as to who should have the dominion and power. At one time they rapaciously turned their attacks against the poor, and against the possessions of the church, which was both a usual and general course with all; at another time they seized by stealth upon their neighbours' castles, or else treacherously deceived those to whom they were bound by all the ties of good faith and friendly alliance. For the earl of Chester, after having distinguished himself as a general plunderer, and after the king on that account had become mistrustful of him, resorted to his usual crafty and treacherous contrivances, cunningly using every feasible endeavour to deliver up the king into the enemies' hands, so as it might be done without attaching disgrace or blame to himself. So when he arrived at court, with a few companions only, that he might thereby obviate all suspicion, he complained of the grievous manner in which he was surrounded by enemies, and especially by the barbarous hordes of Welshmen; that his territories were plundered in the most lamentable manner; that some of the cities were reduced by fire to a state of desolation, whilst others were undergoing all the miseries of a siege; and that he and his followers would shortly be banished from the limits of his county, unless, by means of the king's speedy appearance in person, he should derive for himself and his adherents that immediate assistance and succour which his presence had afforded to others. He asserted that the very mention of the king's name would strike terror into the breasts of the enemy; and that the dread of his personal appearance among them would do more to quell them than if he should attempt, without it, to bring many thousands of fighting men into the field. He also promised an abundant supply of money for the royal troops, and that he would be responsible for every expense that might be judged necessary; that it would involve no great delay to the king; but that having overcome the disturbers of his country by his bare appearance, as it were in passing, he would speedily be able to return with the glorious renown of having achieved a victory.

Under the influence of these representations the king consented to advance with the earl, and promised with gladness and alacrity to commence the expedition without delay, when, behold, the whole of the barons who surrounded him, perceiving that the earl was acting with treachery in making the aforesaid statements, hastily dissuaded him from his purpose. They alleged that it was by no

means advisable for the king to advance into the remote corners of Wales, as the earl desired, more especially at a time when his presence was required to crush the seeds of rebellion which were springing up in great abundance all over England; that it was unsafe to lead an army through precipitous mountains and dense forests, into the midst of the toils which were everywhere spread by a barbarous people, where they would be at a loss for the necessary supplies both of water and provisions. One thing at least was certain; that numberless dangers were likely to be met with on the march, and many hazards were apparent on every side, since it was by no means obvious, after all their toil, whether they could be assured of winning the victory: moreover, that it was an act of exceeding recklessness and daring, so inconsiderately to throw himself into the territory of one who, in defiance of the king, had violently possessed himself of a very large portion of the kingdom. And, although he had, apparently, submitted to the king, he had given no kind of security for his allegiance, neither by assurances of fidelity nor yet by hostages; that if he wished the king to advance, according to his request, for the purpose of reducing the enemy, let him first make restitution of all that he had unjustly seized from his followers, and enter into proper covenants, and give pledges for the king's better security. And, unless he instantly complied with these demands, they affirmed that not only ought the king not to render him any assistance, but to attack him with vigour and determination, as though he were his bitterest foe, and without delay to seize upon him, and commit him to prison till he made due reparation.

Stephen having at length, although unwillingly, acquiesced in these prudent suggestions, the barons went immediately in a body to the earl, who was perfectly unsuspicious of their object, and undertook that the king would afford his most ready and devoted assistance, should ill fortune reduce him to extremity, provided the earl on his part would agree to each particular we have mentioned. The earl, however, immediately answered, that he had not come to the court upon such business; that he had received no notice of anything of the kind, and had had no opportunity of conferring with his friends upon the subject; whereupon hasty and contentious words arising on both sides, the barons accused the earl of deceit and treachery, and of contriving a plot against his sovereign. Covered with shame and confusion, being conscious of the justness of the accusation, the earl at first gave a flat denial, and then had recourse to sundry evasions; whereupon the barons suddenly laid hands upon him, and, placing him in the king's custody, thrust him, bound in chains, into prison.

Matters having been brought to this conclusion, so soon as the barons who followed the earl, and whom he had left scattered about each in their several castles, received intelligence of their lord's capture, they collected their forces together in every direction, and flew to arms, expressing their firm determination to harass the king, to sow discord among all his adherents, and to fight even unto death for the liberation of the earl. Others, however, who took a

deeper and more prudent view of things, shrewdly perceived that it was a weighty matter, and one attended with considerable peril, to commence an attack without their chief, and that it were better and more advisable to place the earl's possessions in the hands of the king: and that after he was ransomed they would be at full liberty to follow him whithersoever fortune might afterwards call. They therefore, along with some friends, sought an interview with the king, and stated their willingness, if the earl were given up, to deliver into his hands the fortresses to which he had a rightful claim; promising most faithfully, both in public and private, to produce hostages and sureties, and whatever he might demand, for his more perfect and sufficient security. The king having held a council for the purpose of deliberating on the matter, came to the conclusion that it would be convenient and advantageous, both for himself and the realm, to accede to the prayer of their petition; so that, having received possession of the things which notoriously appertained to the crown, and pledges having been given, over and above a solemn oath which was taken in sight of the court, that he would not again oppose Stephen, the earl was set at liberty to return to the honours and dignities of his own county only.

The earl being thus released from captivity, bound though he was to maintain the peace, and to keep the faith which he had pledged, followed, nevertheless, his own inclinations, and flew to arms; and breaking the covenant into which he had entered, and setting at naught the solemnity of his oath, he set himself vigorously to work, along with his adherents, to stir up rebellion against the king. Full of fierceness and indignation, he summoned to him a multitude of men-at-arms from opposite quarters, and reinforcements of foot-soldiers and marauders, to enable him to carry on every species of wickedness, with fire and sword, havoc and rapine; which sometimes were directed against his enemies, sometimes even against his own friends, and, what was yet more grievous, sometimes against the possessions and peace of the church; in short, his ravages were extended in all directions, and the tyranny of a Herod and the ferocity of a Nero were exercised by him against every age and sex. And although, on account of the many and scandalous crimes which he committed, the chain of excommunication was thrown over him, yet it rendered him not a whit more mild, or more indulgent to any order of religious. In one direction he got possession of the king's castles, either by open violence or stealthy surprise; in another, he hastily run up new ones before the very eyes of the king; and thus, from one to another, he was continually roving over the country with his licentious and unbridled soldiery, reducing the whole of it by his devastations to a waste and desert wilderness. Before the city of Lincoln (which he surrendered to the king to obtain his release, and in which also the king had placed the flower of his army) he was continually parading with an armed force, sometimes experiencing reverses of fortune, sometimes elated by a run of prosperity, and achieving with delight and exultation a victory over the royal troops. The earl likewise entrenched himself before the castle of Coventry, which

was occupied by the king's forces, and effectually restrained their outbreaks over the country, until the king marched thither, accompanied by a gallant body of men, and supplied the castle with provisions, of which the garrison were in great need. He frequently had an encounter with the earl, who had placed ambuscades for him in the most difficult part of his route; and a considerable slaughter having taken place at the first onset, some being taken prisoners, and others having fled, the king was obliged for a season to succumb to his enemies, partly on account of his being slightly wounded. After a while, however, having again recruited his forces, they had another engagement, in which a great number were taken, many wounded, and the earl himself put to a shameful flight and well nigh killed, so that, at length, the king overthrew his fortifications, and brought them to a surrender. The king also made a most vigorous and resolute attack upon some other fortresses belonging to the earl, at one time wearing out the besieged by a strict and persevering blockade, at another, destroying and wasting all the country round, either by extraordinary pillage or by conflagration. He never ceased, in short, to annoy and harass the earl and his adherents in every way that he could.

At the first commencement of the revolt the king made Gislebert Fitz-Richard prisoner, because he had pledged himself and his castles as security for the earl (being his nephew), and kept him a very long time in strict captivity; until, having surrendered all his fortresses into the king's hands, (which was the only way of obtaining his liberty,) he straightway rejoined his uncle, and, doing all he could to embroil the kingdom, he very frequently attacked the royal forces. These castles earl Gislebert, his father's brother, demanded of the king, alleging that they were his by hereditary right. The king, however, declined to accede to this request; and finding that he was not listened to, he privately withdrew himself from the court, with a determination to quit the king's party altogether, to fortify his castles, of which he had a number in that part of the kingdom, and thus to make an insurrection against him from all sides, in company with the earl of Chester and the rest of the king's opponents. The king, on finding that Gislebert had withdrawn from the court in this underhand way, giving heed to those who persuaded him that it was obvious that he had gone away for the purpose of taking up arms against himself and his kingdom, more especially as he had previously been an object of suspicion, immediately gathered all his force together, and commenced a hot pursuit of Gislebert. "It appears a grievous wrong," said he, "that one on whom I have conferred so many favours, and such great riches, whom, from the condition of a poor man-at-arms, I have raised with high honour to the state and dignity of an earldom; one whose every wish I have gratified, not once, but often and often, in granting him broad lands and wide possessions, should now so suddenly and unadvisedly take up arms and join my adversaries, to make head against me. What has become of good faith, what has become of shame, what has become of him who was bound by every tie to preserve his fidelity to me unshaken, and to account it a mark of dishonour to

swerve even in the slightest degree from my service, who keeps no faith with me, his own lord and chief, and shows by thus acting the most utter disregard of good name and fame? Let us now, however, press upon the fugitive without the least delay, and frustrate all his plans; let us make all speed to follow on his track, and foil every plot which he has hatched against us."

No time was lost; for no sooner had the earl arrived at his nearest castle with the intention, after supplying it with troops and provisions, and of giving orders to his adherents, to commence hostilities against Stephen, than, behold, on the opposite side of the castle, unlooked-for and unwelcome, stood the king himself in person, with his troops disposed in battle array. In fact, he would have intercepted the earl had the latter not concealed his face and disguised his person, and thus made good his flight, with a few followers, through the midst of confusion and tumult which prevailed in every direction. The king's sudden appearance, and the terror with which the garrison were affected by the vehemence of his attack, led in a short time to the surrender of the castle. Two other fortresses belonging to Gislebert being likewise quickly taken, as though by the very impetuosity of his headlong course, Stephen marched with unabated speed in the direction of a fourth, which is called Penevesel [Pevensey]. This is a fortress raised upon a very lofty mound, fortified on all sides by a magnificent wall, washed by an arm of the sea, which constitutes a defence of singular strength, and its difficulty of access renders its position well-nigh impregnable. After the king had arrived here with his troops, and perceived that the defences of the place rendered its capture a matter of difficulty, and that its garrison were prepared to offer an obstinate resistance, he left behind him a body of troops of great fidelity and resolution, on whom he placed the utmost reliance, to carry on the siege; straitly charging them to spare no expense or labour, no skill or ingenuity, in prosecuting a blockade, on the sea-side with ships, and on the land-side with men-at-arms, until at length the besieged should be worn out with weariness and fatigue, and should confess their inability to hold out any longer.

Whilst these transactions were going on, Henry, the son of the earl of Anjou, (the rightful heir and aspirant to the throne of England,) arrived from abroad in England with a gallant body of men. His arrival immediately threw the kingdom into a state of disturbance and consternation, because, in order that the news of his coming might as usual be spread the wider, he falsely gave out that he had come at the head of many thousands of men, and that in a little time more would follow; that he had brought an extraordinary amount of treasure, and that first one district and then another had been laid waste by him with fire and sword. Gladly did his adherents listen to these accounts, and a new light seemed to dawn upon them; whilst the king's party, on the other hand, were for a while deeply depressed, as though they had been smitten to the earth by a thunderbolt. When, however, it became generally known, and a matter of perfect certainty, that he had brought

no army with him, but only a small band of men; that even they had as yet received no pay, but had been hired with the promise of getting it at some future time; that he had achieved no valorous deeds, but was totally given up to ease and carelessness; they took heart, and everywhere met them with a brave and resolute resistance. For when they had advanced without obstacle upon the town of Cricklade, and a stronghold called Burton, which were then in the possession of the king, as though with the intention of penetrating further into the country, they made a shameful flight from the one, and, being seized with a panic, were speedily repulsed from the other. For[1] the count, after having made frequent and speedy proof of the king's bravery, (whose constancy mounted in proportion to his reverses,) as he had entered into England unadvisedly and indiscreetly, so his followers, giving themselves up to idleness and carelessness, were oppressed with penury and want, and at length departed, abandoning the rightful heir to the whole kingdom with whom they had arrived in England. This youth, oppressed with such a calamity, became afflicted with sorrow, and pined away under the torments of shame and injury, partly because he could not retain in his service those faithful soldiers whom he had chosen as the best supporters of his cause, partly because he had not experienced that assistance which he had anticipated from the barons who were inclined to his side; nor could he provide either victuals or pay for the garrisons which held his castles and who waged for him an unremitting warfare.

Under the pressure of this misfortune he sought the aid of his mother, but she being herself in want of money was in no condition to supply his necessities. He also applied to his uncle, the earl of Gloucester, but he, with a niggardly regard to his purse, preferred providing for his own needs only; and all those in whom he trusted having failed him at this moment of need, he at last (as report says) sent messengers privately to the king, as to a kinsman, for the purpose of imploring him, in the most humble and suppliant manner, to look with compassion upon his pressing necessity, and to listen to him with pity, as one not only connected with him by the ties of near kindred, but likewise as one who, to the utmost of his power, was well-disposed towards him. When the king received this message, being always compassionate and full of kindly feeling, he listened to the youth; and though he was one whom he might well have left destitute of all help and succour, seeing that he was an aspirant to his throne, and in all respects opposed to him, yet he sent him money in answer to his request, and assisted him in the kindest manner. And although the king might be censured by some as acting imprudently, nay, even childishly in this matter, by giving money and aiding to such an extent one whom he ought especially to have hunted down, my own opinion is that he acted on higher and nobler principles: for

[1] The passage which commences here, and extends to the end of the paragraph is very imperfect in the original; the text of the MS. having (apparently) been defaced or mutilated at this point. The translation, therefore, is offered with some diffidence.

the greater the humanity and kindness which any one shows towards his enemy, he renders him so much the more powerless, and less able to make head against him. Therefore, according to the Psalmist,[1] he would not do evil unto those that were his enemies, but followed the Apostle's precept, so to overcome evil with good, that, by the kindness which he showed to his adversary, he might heap the coals of compunction and amendment upon his head.

Somewhere about this time the king conferred the honours of knighthood, with great state, in the presence of his barons, upon his son Eustace, a youth of singular promise; and after making him very large grants of lands and territories, and placing him in command of a gallant body of troops, he exalted him, with great pomp, to the dignity of an earldom. He was only a youth in years, but of grave carriage, eminent for his skill in the affairs of war, of innate and singular probity, and one who had earned the highest honour and distinction on the very threshold of his military life: for he showed himself especially affable and gentle, extending his hand of bounty everywhere with a cheerful liberality, and, possessing much of his father's courage, he showed himself, as occasion required, able to cope with some and superior to others: in one place he would use every effort for the establishment of peace upon a sure basis, in another, he would present a stern and indomitable front to his adversaries. For he occasionally entered the lists in battle with the earl of Chester and many others, and obtained such renown by the splendour of his victorious achievements that the deeds of a mere stripling (for he was but a beardless youth) excited the admiration of the veteran soldier. And while the son was labouring with the utmost vigour on one side of the kingdom to repel the enemy, the father, on the other, was constantly prosecuting his accustomed successes. Making a sudden march upon a castle, (called "the castle in the wood,") which was occupied by a body of turbulent and disorderly troops, who were continually annoying the whole of the surrounding district, he stormed and took it; and, putting in a garrison of his own men, he obtained the mastery over a very wide tract of country. At that time also he made a gallant and successful attack upon the castle of Lidele, which was surrendered into his hands. For[2] this castle belonged by right to . . . . to curb the predatory excursions, and to protect the lands of the church which the bishop held within that district . . . . of the counts of Brienne . . . . are exceedingly cunning and prepared for every crime, ... and cruelly pillaged the bishop's lands . . . . who, being always a man of judgment, and most efficient in the transaction of business, collected a large body of troops, and took two castles without difficulty, which he filled with adequate garrisons of foot soldiers and knights, ... reduced to the extremity of famine. The earl of Gloucester proposing to overthrow the bishop's castles, at the head of three . . . . and

[1] See Ps. vii. 5, Vulg.

[2] The MS. is again imperfect; and the translation is, in some few points, conjectural.

a countless multitude of soldiers, and .... provisions, ... the king received a speedy message from the bishop, ... struck sudden terror into the earl's mind and his followers, and placed in the bishop's hands the castle, which surrendered to him.

After this the earl of Gloucester, being the most pertinacious of the king's enemies, and always in a state of readiness to devise some great plot, urged his allies again and again to reinforce their army, constantly spurring them on by advice and counsel, and inducing some to join him by means of threats, and others by bribes and promises; so that all being banded together with one heart and soul, they might bring their scattered forces into one body, and, collecting their troops from all sides, might make a vigorous and resolute attack upon the king. But since, in opposition to the Lord, neither wisdom, or prudence, or counsel availeth aught, his end suddenly approached, whilst he was thus scattering the seeds of discord and rebellion over the kingdom in greater profusion than he had ever done, and with more determination than he was wont, and he at last died at his city of Bristol; and, as it was said, without confession and without absolution. His son William succeeded him in his earldom; a man of mature age, but of effeminate and dissolute habits, and fonder of the couch of luxury than of the hardships of war. Yet, on his first accession to the earldom, he achieved, for once, an extraordinary success, contrary to every one's expectation. For Henry de Tracey, a man of great valour, and large experience in military affairs, and an adherent of the royal cause, commenced the erection of some fortifications over against Castle Cary, that he might put a better check upon the earl of Gloucester, and keep the control over a wider district of country. The earl, however, on receiving intelligence of his proceedings, suddenly advanced upon him with a large body of men; and having rased to the ground the stronghold which Henry had begun to build, compelled him and his troops to make an inglorious retreat.

At that time Walter de Pinchenei, (of whom we have already made mention,) having escaped from the miseries of a prison, principally by the assistance of the earl of Hereford, again flew to arms; and having collected an extraordinary force, effected a surreptitious entrance into the castle called Cristiciria [Christchurch]; and having slain some of its occupants, and thrown others into chains, and having likewise committed the most greedy havoc in every direction, he gained the command of a very wide district. But at a time when he should have forgotten his former cruelty and wickedness, lest he should again fall into the hands of his enemies, by way of retribution for his sins, his ferocity made him unbearable to every one; he most grievously oppressed the church lands, and harassed his neighbours by his exactions and violence, incessantly extorting from them both money and gifts; and, moved by the love of cruelty alone, he inflicted tortures and sufferings upon some, and divers kinds of death upon others. But God, the avenger and rewarder of such great wickedness, at length caused its author to suffer in his own person the just retribution of his evil deeds. For the citizens of that place, together with some of the country

people, smarting under the injuries which he had inflicted upon them, conspired against him; and they being joined by the knights who belonged to his fee, placed an ambuscade around his castle. As Walter and his followers were going to church from the castle, they entreated him earnestly that he would . . . . . the exactions, . . . and when he answered them arrogantly and angrily, ... nay, that he would proceed with greater severity than he had done hitherto, one of them boldly rushed forward and struck him a heavy blow on the neck with a sharp battleaxe, ... after having slain him, they instantly put his fellow-soldiers also to death, ... and the troops who were placed in ambush advancing against the castle . . . . the garrison at length surrendered, and came to terms of peace. About the same time the castle of Downton, belonging to earl Patrick, ... they craftily stole from the possession of the church, and amply stocked it with provisions and a garrison of freebooters. . . . . .

GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS CONCERNING THE INSTRUCTION OF PRINCES.

GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS CONCERNING THE INSTRUCTION OF PRINCES.

THE PREFACE.

That which especially impelled me to put forth a treatise on the Instruction of a Prince, is this: that, in the manners of princes and of prelates who are appointed to govern and instruct others, as well by their example as by their power, I find so much which is worthy of reprehension. For what prince is there, of the present day, who does not indiscriminately use the power granted to him from above for the gratification of every inclination of his mind, for every carnal desire and luxury, for every atrocity of a depraved despotism? and, as though he were allowed to do whatever he wishes, does he not measure the wish and the power to do as things which progress with equal advances? What prince is there, at the present day, who, in regard to the royal sacrament of unction, and the crown and sceptre, and the separate insignia of royalty, considers at all what they mean?

Therefore, also, it is that, in the writings of the ancients, illiterate princes are esteemed nothing better than crowned asses. For what prince is there, at the present day, who thinks of the feeble beginning of his life, of the middle of it as frail and corruptible, and, after the end of it, reflects that he will be a vile carcass? According to that philosophical reply given to the tyrant who, as it were from a general, being anointed, had lately become a king, and from a king had immediately been raised to the dignity of an emperor, and who boastingly asked, "What was I? what am I? what shall I be?" "Vile seed, a vessel of excrements, food for worms;" for it is said that such was the reply given by Dionysius, the philosopher, to Alexander of Macedon, who, by degrees, had ascended to these dignities, and for this reason was boasting and glorying. And, in addition to this, what prelate is there, at the present day, who, even in a few respects, answers to that canonical description of a man who is a shepherd? who is a supporter of orphans and of the feeble? who is a faithful dispenser of the goods of the church? and, that I may be silent as to the life which ought even to be laid down for the sheep, what shepherd is there, at the present day, who, the milk alone and the wool of the sheep being received, has, even in a moderate degree, a due anxiety for the flock? For, in these our parts, we see few prelates now who do not give themselves up to the management of the public treasury with far

greater avidity than they do to episcopal duties. They are, in truth, shepherds who seek not to feed the flock, but to be fed themselves; they are prelates who desire to have the pre-eminence over those under them, but not to profit them; these are bishops who do not embrace the reality of the dignity, but the name, not the weight of responsibility, but the honour. Such princes, therefore, and such prelates, give cause to my pen to write. There is, therefore, a threefold division of this work; the first contains the doctrine and precepts as to the instruction of a prince, established by various testimonies of authors, both theological and heathen, and of writers on ethics; but the second and third teach the reason of this rule by examples.

But since of our small works, which formerly juvenile years had produced with great labour, and full of ambitious solicitation, some had been dedicated to princes, and others to prelates, and that without any advantage, (the new writings, at the present time, although remarkable, gaining for their authors odium, and envy, and dislike, not reward or favour, by reason of the innate malice of this last time,) these and other our endeavours, which, under the divine favour, our diligence shall hereafter be able to produce, we shall present to posterity; which, with due commendation of praise at least, and without envy, shall extol the literary labours of each: recalling always to mind that noble eulogy of Cicero, let us despise present advantages, and let us have respect to the glory of posterity, and that saying of the same writer, "The course of life is short, of glory, eternal;" and let us think of this, that the body is mortal, but the operations of the mind, and the glory of virtue, are eternal; and also that saying of Pliny, "Whatever you do, always let glory and eternity be before your eyes."

But if these works of ours, which a more advanced age has carefully written, should have been to be presented to any one of modern princes, we choose one to whom, above all others, they rather seem to be worthily to be presented, namely,[1] Louis, the eldest son of Philip, the king of the French; both because he is sufficiently instructed from his tender years in letters and liberal studies, (which virtue, by how much the more rare it is in princes, at the present day, is by far the more valuable and illustrious where it is found,) and also because he is conspicuous for liberality; which two qualities, in truth, adorn the mind of a prince, as jewels adorn the gold in which they are set; nevertheless, in ourselves an age increasing in weakness,[2] and a course drawing nearer to the final goal of life, neither henceforth expect nor seek the rewards which remunerate the long labours of literary talent, though they are not unworthy of praise.

But how a knowledge of letters, and liberal studies, are things worthy to be desired by princes, the examples of those princes which are selected show, and most evidently invite to this pursuit;

[1] This was Louis VIII, the son of Philip Augustus, who succeeded his father, 14th July, 1223.

[2] According to the chronology of Wharton (Angl. Sacr. ii. 374), Giraldus was now in his 70th year.

who, the more literary and learned they were, the more courageous and active they proved themselves in all warlike affairs. As, for example, Alexander, that illustrious general, king of the Macedonians, and Julius Cæsar, emperor of the Romans, and also his nephew, Augustus Octavianus, who pursued liberal studies to such an extent, and especially that of eloquence, that no day passed by in which he had not at hand some composition which he might read, or write, or dictate. And if we may look to the times nearer to our own days, and far nearer to our own country, Charlemagne, king of the Franks and Germans, who, indeed, as Alcuin testifies, did not cease to apply his mind to books and letters, not only in his youth, amidst the pursuit of arms and so great a weight of imperial affairs, but even in age itself, he had Alcuin, already spoken of, as his preceptor and teacher, devoting to study the whole of the leisure he had won from the arduous affairs of his kingdom.

The praise, therefore, is fresh, and speaks appropriately, that the prince of a kingdom, in which, above all others, war of both kinds flourishes, both in arms and under the toga, that is, martial as well literary, should himself be distinguished and excel in both pursuits. That also is worthy of remark, that the pursuits of philosophy and of war are always wont to accompany each other, as in Greece under the Macedonians, as at Rome under the Cæsars, and as formerly in France under the Pepins and Charleses, and under their royal descendants, even to the present time.[1]

THE END OF THE FIRST PREFACE.

THE PREFACE TO THE SECOND DIVISION OF THE WORK BEGINS.

SINCE, according to the various sports of fortune, we see some for a long time depressed and in a low condition, that, in a short time, they may be more appropriately and highly exalted; and, on the other hand, we see some suddenly and unexpectedly raised on high, that they may rush down with a heavier fall. That no one may despair, by applying to himself this last case, this second division of the book will unfold the unexpected elevation and glory of Henry the second, king of England; but, that prosperity may exalt no one into pride, the following part will equally show his heavy dejection and sorrow: since, as Jerome says, "Let us rejoice at our exaltation, let us fear at our fall; it is not a matter of so much joy to have occupied an elevated station as it is of sorrow to have fallen from it." For against such powerful detainers of his kingdom from him, and so many enemies,—king Stephen, an illustrious soldier, the nephew of king Henry the first, on his sister's

[1] This Preface was added after the conclusion of the whole, or, at least, of the First Book, which bears evident marks of having been written long before the others.

side, and Eustace, the son of king Stephen, also a renowned soldier, and the husband of the sister of Louis, king of France—who could ever expect that Henry, but a youth, the son of the earl of Anjou, so unequal to such attempts, would ever obtain the kingdom by arms, and before any open suffrages in his favour? Moreover, the divine disposition of events, none being able to stand against him, both removes out of his way everything hurtful to his cause, and, whilst it smiles upon him, grants him every prosperity. Add to these things, also, that, after he mounted the throne of the kingdom, who ever saw such a heavy oppressor of the church, so unjust a tyrant to his kingdom, and one so obstinate in almost every thing evil, enjoying so great and incomparable a victory, as if every thing he did had been well and honourably done; so that, as often as scourges from God seemed to be prepared to take vengeance upon him, either by his sons, by the French, or by the nations which surrounded him on every side, generally, after lengthened vexations, which, indeed, it would have been well for him had they given him knowledge, all seemed to add to his victories, to his glory, and to the arrogance of his obstinate mind, as if in him successes and excesses seemed to vie with each other. But the Lord, who waits with long-suffering, the prudent and powerful Ruler of the universe, as a father does his sons, affectionately angry against those who are perverse, one while alarms and chastises them with punishments, and at another time soothes and softens them by benefits; so that fear may deter them from errors, and the power of love may invite them to obedience, and to follow after the rewards of virtue. Therefore, the long waiting for repentance, and the long delay of vengeance, make it evidently appear that the merciful patience of God rather seeks the conversion of sinners than their destruction; and also that, after so great forbearance towards the reprobate and perverse, a more severe punishment, and that not undeservedly, ought to be inflicted upon them. Therefore, in this second portion of this work, you will everywhere find, for the most part, the patience and mercy of a just judge; but, in the third and last, you will find everything full of judgment and justice.

THE END OF THE PREFACE.

GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS ON THE INSTRUCTION OF PRINCES.

HERE BEGINS THE SECOND DIVISION OF THE WORK CONCERNING THE SUCCESSES AND GLORY OF A CERTAIN PRINCE OF OUR OWN TIME.

CHAP. I.—OF THE PROSPERITY ATTENDING THE REIGN OF KING HENRY THE SECOND OF ENGLAND, FROM ITS COMMENCEMENT, AND OF THE VAST EXTENSION OF HIS KINGDOM.

HENRY the second, the king of England, seems, therefore, to have experienced the prosperous issues of accidental circumstances from his birth; and not only during the beginning of his life, but even also from his earliest years, to have obtained the divine favour in almost everything, more from mere grace than from anything due to his own merits. For, in the first place, William, the only son and heir of king Henry the first, having been drowned[1] in the waves of the sea, the hereditary right, both to the dukedom and the kingdom, devolved, by course, to him, as being the grandson of the king by his eldest daughter. But the king being taken away from human affairs by death,[2] and this boy being left as heir when only about five years of age, Stephen of Blois, the nephew of the king on his sister's side, unjustly seized upon the crown of the kingdom: but when Stephen died,[3] after a reign of twenty-one years, a short time before this, Eustace, his son, a renowned soldier, having died also, it seemed as if every impediment had been removed, and all the good things of which he had been deprived were wholly restored to Henry, now grown up to manhood. Immediately, therefore, when Henry the second was raised to the throne of the kingdom, at the very commencement of his reign, by a signal instance of good fortune, not only those who had detained the kingdom from him, but all the disturbers of peace in the realm, not only foreigners, but also those of his brother, as well as his own sons afterwards, were extinguished suddenly, and, as it were, almost by a miracle. Every obstacle to tranquillity and quiet was removed out of the way for this pacific king by the favour of a singular good fortune. Thus, therefore, by reigning prosperously, he not only, by God's grace, peacefully reduced his own hereditary dominions under his power, but, moreover, he victoriously triumphed over remote and foreign kingdoms, which belonged to none of his predecessors from the coming of the Normans or even of the Angles. For he made for Ireland with his fleet; and, having passed over the deep sea, he splendidly reduced it under subjection; and he also subdued Scotland, having taken their king, William, prisoner: and, contrary to anything which had occurred before, adding so noble an increase to the Anglican crown, he gloriously extended the boundaries and limits of the kingdom from the southern ocean to the northern

[1] A.D. 1120. [2] A.D. 1135. [3] A.D. 1154.

islands of the Orkneys, including, by his powerful hand, in one monarchy, the whole island of Britain as it is itself included by the ocean. We have no authentic account that any one had ever done this before, from the time when the Picts and Scots first occupied the northern parts of the island since the days of Claudius Cæsar, who not only added Scotland to the British kingdom, but the Orkney islands also to the Roman empire. But, alas the grief! so great and magnificent an honour vanished from the English crown, (sold by his next successor[1] for a vile bargain, at an irreparable loss,) and this perpetual and inestimable glory came to an end for a price not worth naming.

But the Scots say, and, on account of the honour of their own country, positively declare, that so much of the land which is called Leonis [Lothian], even to the Scottish sea, which anciently divided Scotland, almost made an island, from the kingdom of England, their prince took and surrendered, with the inhabitants, first to the king of England at Alnwick, together with three renowned castles, which were then also given up, situated in that part called Roxburgh. But it seems to be more true, and far more likely, that their prince, taken captive in war, and thrown into prison, would be constrained to submit to any separation, or even, by right of war, to any inconvenience of vassalage, so that he might be released from iron chains and the darkness of a prison.

Moreover, in the parts of Guienne, in France, beyond the sea, besides Anjou, Maine, and Tours, which fell to him by patrimonial right, and Poitou also, and the whole of Gascony, as far as the Pyrennean mountains of Spain, which he acquired by marriage, he reduced, by arms, under his own dominion, Auvergne, and Berry, and Gisors, together with the Vexin of Normandy, formerly taken away from Normandy. Nor, abusing the easy and simple nature of the holy man, king Louis, had he by his courage extended the sphere of his power to the empire of France only, but even also to that of Rome, invited as well by the whole of Italy, as more frequently by the city of Rome itself, by reason of the daily warfare, and the inexorable discord, which had arisen between the emperor Frederick and his subjects; having gained a way for himself, though not having effectually preserved it, for this purpose, through the valley of Maurienne and of the Alps. For since out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh, sometimes it is wont to send forth, before its private friends, a boasting and ambitious word, that the whole world, forsooth, is not sufficient for one excellent and powerful man, so that, forasmuch as the fame of his name was celebrated through the whole world, it was, above all the kings and princes of the earth, a glory to the faithful, and a terror to the infidels. All the princes also of the earth, christian as well as infidel, and as Frederick of Germany, so Manuel of Greece, and as Noradin in his own time, and after him Saladin, and as these of Asia, so also those of Europe and of Spain, as well those of the household of faith as infidels, were accustomed to honour and to visit him by valuable presents and by frequent ambassadors.

[1] Namely, king John.

CHAP. II.—OF THE ILLUSTRIOUS MEN WHO VISITED ENGLAND DURING HIS REIGN.

MANY great and illustrious men, from different parts of the world, flocked together into England, during his reign, in more than an ordinary manner, and on account of his very great honour and fame. From the kingdom of Germany, besides very many counts and marquises, there came two archbishops of Cologne, that brave man, Reginald,[1] and afterwards that renowned man, Godfrey; the one for the purpose of foreign travel, the other on an embassy. Moreover, besides others from France, there came both Robert, count of Dreux, the brother of king Louis, and Theobald of Blois, and the brother of Theobald, William, at first archbishop of Sens, uncle of Philip, king of France, and related by consanguinity to king Henry, and also that famous count palatine, Philip of Flanders, the cousin of king Henry by his paternal aunt.[2]

But, as if to raise the honour both of the king, as well as of the kingdom, to the highest pitch, that illustrious foreigner, Louis, king of France, came[3] to England, having crossed over the arm of the sea from France, and went as an humble and devout suppliant to the tomb of the renowned martyr, Thomas of Canterbury: and besides Roman legates, cardinal Hugo Leonis, and others, at length, Heraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem, came,[4] of whose coming we shall hereafter speak; and the kings of Spain, of Castile, and of Navarre, sent over illustrious men into England, skilled in the law and advocates, for the settling of those hostilities and grave causes of discord which had arisen some time before amongst themselves about certain lands and castles, who brought back the judgment[5] of the court of this king, by which they had all agreed to abide.

Moreover, his three daughters, which queen Eleanor, of noble descent, had borne to him, he destined for three opposite parts of Europe; the first, and eldest, for Saxony, as the wife of Henry, duke of Saxony; the second, and next following, for Spain, as the wife of Alphonso, king of Toledo and Castile; and the third, and youngest, for Sicily, as the bride of William, king of the Sicilians.

By the same Eleanor he had also six illustrious sons, of whom two died prematurely in tender years; and over the four who grew up their father rejoiced more in the flower than in the fruit, more in the herb than in the ear, more when they were boys than when they had advanced to manhood, as may be read in the account of the childhood of his legitimate offspring, in our "Prophetical History[6] of the Conquest of Ireland," and in the description which we have given of this same king, and which we have subsequently added to this work.[7] Moreover, this worthy and exquisite vengeance was inflicted upon him by Heaven; that he had deserved to be punished by his own children, less rightfully and less lawfully begotten than

[1] There is apparently some error in the names of these archbishops; see Gall. Christ. iii. 680, 681, and Twysden, Decem Scriptt. pp. 539, 625.

[2] Namely, Sibilla of Anjou.

[3] A.D. 1179; see Twysden, p. 1457.

[4] A.D. 1185.

[5] See Benedictus Abbas, and Hoveden, under the year 1177.

[6] The author here refers to his Historia Vaticinalis. lib. i. cap. xlii. p. 782, ed. Camden.

[7] Printed by Bouquet, xiii. 214.

was fit, and anxiously to be disturbed in his dominions, and even to his last breath, according to the saying of the prophet Nathan,—"The sword shall not depart from the house of the impious man;" and that saying of the same, "The Lord shall raise up thy seed against thee."[1]

CHAP. III.—OF HIS ENORMOUS SINS AFTERWARDS, AND OF THE MARTYRDOM OF THOMAS.

FOR, in the first place, as is sufficiently notorious, he unduly took away Eleanor, queen of France, from her husband and lord, Louis, king of France, and united her to himself in the bond of matrimony; by whom, under unhappy auspices, in process of time, he had the offspring already spoken of; through which, as we have said, on account of this and his other most grievous crimes, some of which we will subsequently enumerate, the Lord wished him to be humbled, and to be recalled to repentance, (for affliction will bring a man to his senses;) or, if he had been found obstinate, that the father should be punished by his own offspring, and the murderer tormented by his own flesh.

For he had been an oppressor of the nobility from the beginning even to the end of his reign, considering things right or wrong according to his own convenience or advantage. He was a seller and secret accuser of justice, changeable and crafty in word; and not only was he an unscrupulous violator of his promises, but of his pledged faith and of his oath; an open adulterer, ungrateful and irreligious to God, a heavy oppressor of the church, and a son born to destruction; from whence he went on to such a height of wickedness and perfidy, that, as his father, in his time, cruelly raged against the blessed Gerard,[2] bishop of Seez, so also this man, taking after his father in evil, and far more deeply staining his own times with his cruelty, presumed to rage against our glorious martyr, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury. But, for the honour of the martyr, we have thought it not useless also to add to this account what we have written in the "Prophetical History."

At[3] this time, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, fell in England by the swords of impious men; not, indeed, without many a remark made by illustrious persons of the realm and of the priesthood. To whom, besides that manifold martyrdom of a seven years' banishment, which was spent in much sorrow, under the discipline of a twofold hair-cloth both for his thighs as well as for his body; in continual study and prayer; and in the heaviest of all distresses, so lamentable a proscription of all his relations by blood, sparing neither age nor sex, the whole of this was added to complete the glory of his whole martyrdom; that he opened the doors of the temple to his enemies to rage against him; and, meeting their swords with an uncovered head, he stretched forth his sacred crown to receive their wounds; that this took place in the mother and

[1] See 2 Sam. xii. 10. [2] See this explained in the Gall. Christ. xi. 687

[3] The whole of this paragraph occurs in the author's Hibernia Expugnata, lib. i cap. xx. p. 771.

metropolitan church, and before the altar; that, from four dogs of courtiers, raging even with greater than canine fury, he received four wounds, and no more, on the crown of his head, which part rather used to be a sign of protection to the clergy; that these were in that part only in which He bore His passion, the soldier and intrepidly-suffering martyr of Christ, passed to his rest, taking, by a happy exchange, an incorruptible for a corruptible crown; that he consecrated the sacred week of the Lord's nativity with his own blood also; and as the first Thomas preceded the nativity by the fifth day, so this second of the name filled the same space after the completion of the sacred festival; that the former was a lamp of the east, the latter of the west; that the former gave light to the church at its birth, the latter to it when it was growing old; and as the one cemented the foundations of the rising church with his own blood, so this other, by his, restored the former state to the church long founded, and as though now ruinous, and as well worn out by old age, as shaken to pieces by the frequent force of the tempests; and as the former was fervent, the faith being fervent, so the latter was not only fervent, but his zeal was even more fervid, the church now growing cold; and as the one exposed himself to his cruel tormentors that he might erect the substance of the church, so the other dreaded not to yield to the sword that he might preserve its form unimpaired. The triumphal praises of whose so great victory these two small verses comprise with sufficient brevity and honour,—"For the spouse of Christ, about the time of Christ, in the temple of Christ, a true lover of Christ met his death." Concerning whom, amidst his various virtues, that circumstance happened worthy of especial remark and recollection, that his limbs being separated and cast away were restored in an unheard-of manner, and by this novelty of his virtue, truly, a new martyr appeared. But this grain of wheat died, and, falling into the ground, brought forth much fruit, finishing his course, by a happy reward, in the forty-eighth year from his birth, the eighth of his consecration, and the seventh of his banishment, in the end of the month of December: finishing the old life with the year, and beginning a new one. He died in the one thousand one hundred and seventy-first year from the incarnation of our Lord, Alexander the third presiding at Rome, Frederic being emperor, and Louis reigning in France. For which reason, by a certain author, the time from our Lord's incarnation has thus been expressed with brevity and clearness,—"The year was the one thousandth one hundredth and seventy-first, when the primate, Thomas, fell by the sword."

CHAP. IV.—OF THE CONTINUAL REVERSE OF FORTUNE WHICH ATTENDED KING HENRY FOR THE REST OF HIS LIFE, AND PARTICULARLY HOW IT WAS ALWAYS EMBITTERED BY THE HOSTILE CONDUCT OF HIS SONS TOWARDS HIM.

BUT from the sacrilegious hazard of this detestable wickedness, and horrible crime, the revolving wheel of his fortune began to be turned downwards, to rise again more slowly than usual. The

fortune of the king by degrees began to decline, and the power of his reign to be enervated from day to day. For although he seemed sometimes to rise again, and, by exhibiting more power, to mount at the same time to greater glory, by the divine permission as well as chastening, after his grievous and hopeless afflictions; yet, his sons now being grown up, and frequently rising against him, and every day more and more alluring the affections of the nobility towards themselves, he never was able to remain long in any settled state of happiness, nor in any secure joy. For in about two years[1] after the triumphal death of our martyr, his son Henry (the eldest of those who survived, and who, by his own consent, had secured the crown of the kingdom after his death) went over to his father-in-law, Louis, king of France, together with his two brothers, the counts of Poitou and Brittany, and revolted from his father against him, at the same time having many accomplices and favourers amongst many of the great nobles, not only in England, but beyond the sea. In which hopeless conflict the king began to be so deeply afflicted that neither he himself, nor any one else, could ever suppose that his fortune would rise again. For since his domestics were his enemies, and that the enmity of those of the same family is amongst the worst of human plagues, this added to the weight of his grief and despair; and those soldiers whom he had selected for his bed-chamber, men in whose hands he had placed equally both his death and life, going over from him in a hostile spirit, and almost every night, to join his sons, were sought for in vain in the morning. Nevertheless, being brought to his senses by affliction, and tribulation making him contrite for a time, the devout king, when he approached within a quarter of a mile of Canterbury,[2] walked barefoot to the tomb of the renowned martyr, even from the place where he first cast his eyes on the church of the Holy Trinity; and, happily for himself, he passed the night there in watching and prayer: for the Lord, who is a faithful and speedy requiter of good, and a longsuffering waiter for repentance of faults, for the honour of His martyr, without delay, remunerated the devotion of the king—in a temporal sense, at least; for on the morrow, about the third hour, He gave up into his power, at Alnwick, both William, king of Scotland, who had cruelly invaded the northern parts of the kingdom with a host of barbarians, and also his whole camp. By which success the disturbances in England were set at rest entirely, and, soon afterwards, those beyond the sea; for as no good action, so neither this example of great devotion, could pass by unrewarded. For[3] a better fortune, by so triumphant an end, concluded a war so hopeless, and, by so great an instance of divine favour, so happily augmented the glory of the king; so that, as at the first, in the estimation of all, divine indignation brought an accelerated vengeance on the same, rather rejoicing in the conversion of a sinner than in his destruction, in process of time this seems mercifully to have subsided, at last, by a worthy reconciliation.

[1] A.D. 1173. [2] Repeated in the Topographia Hiberniæ, p. 782.
[3] See William of Newburgh, p. 487.

Therefore, after the heavy grief of the capture of Dol, after the favour of saint Edmund,[1] sending a rain on the kingdom, after the nightly penitence of the king on his pilgrimage at Canterbury, the noble martyr, Thomas, propitiating the divine wrath, and being himself propitiated by tears and prayers, on the morrow at the camp at Alnwick, under the command of that honest and prudent man, Ralph de Glanville, faithful to the king both in prosperity and adversity, England gained the favour of Heaven and lasting happiness.

Thus the king of Scotland being captured, as well as the earls of Chester and of Leicester, and, moreover, by a like fortune, so many nobles, so many generals, and military men, from both sides of the French sea, were taken prisoners, that scarcely a sufficient number of chains could be found for the conquered, or of prisons in which to confine the prisoners. But since a prince will ignobly triumph over his enemies until he has gained the victory over himself; (for there is no reason why anyone should not triumph who is the conqueror of his own mind,) amidst so many victories in things, fortune everywhere favouring him, governing himself by an example of illustrious virtue and unheard of piety, and gaining the victory over himself, (conquering his own feelings and anger, who had overcome others,) he restored life and honour to the enemy, who was everywhere triumphed over and vanquished; and—which is wont to be a rare virtue in prosperity—bearing his advantages with equanimity, even amidst the triumphal events themselves, he preserved the greatest clemency, and the greatest moderation in his prosperity; therefore, after the various vexatious fatigues of a two years' war, which were altogether vain, his sons returned home to their father, and were at last received with the kiss of peace, and with a friendship rather shadowy than real.

But when the two years' destructive contest was appeased, and the plagues and persecutions had also ceased, he hardened his heart, like another Pharaoh, and ascribed everything to the power of his own arm, not to the divine mercy; and as if advancing experience was given him for worse things, he not only inclined into his usual vortex of vice, but became far more incorrigibly wicked. And that, omitting others, we may bring one instance forward, he who was before an adulterer in secret, and was afterwards manifestly such, by openly and more shamelessly misusing his wife, queen Eleanor, formerly thrown into prison,[2] perhaps as a punishment for her first matrimonial fall, and her second consent given, was not, indeed, the rose [3] of the world, according to that false and frivolous name which had been given to her, but might more truly be called the rose of an impure husband; and since the world generally follows the pattern of kings, he not only offended by deed, but even far more by his example.

Moreover, in addition to this, that I may even yet bring forward

[1] See William of Newburgh, p. 489.
[2] See Gervase of Canterbury, ap. Twysden, p. 1745.
[3] Alluding to the epitaph upon Rosamond, of which the first line reads,—

"Hic jacet in tumba Rosa Mundi, non Rosa munda."

a few instances out of many, about the first beginning of his reign, he was bound by the bond of the faith, and of his oath, together with Louis, king of France, to go with him on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem; and although often invited by the same king, and even earnestly persuaded to fulfil his vow, he always put it off, and delayed it from time to time. For he was a procrastinator in everything, and especially in those things which he had settled to do by the voluntary motion of his own mind, or his desire to fulfil any vow; as can be made plain from the letters of agreement, and confederation of these same persons, composed and inserted here.

CHAP. V.—THE LETTER OF LOUIS, KING OF FRANCE, AND HENRY, KING OF ENGLAND, OPENLY SETTING FORTH THEIR AGREEMENT TO GO TOGETHER ON A PILGRIMAGE TO JERUSALEM.

"I,[1] LOUIS, by the grace of God, king of France, and I, Henry, by the same grace, king of England, wish to make known to all persons who are now living, or may live hereafter, that under the inspiration of God, we have promised and sworn that we will go together to Jerusalem in the service of Christianity, and will take up the cross, as is contained in another written document concerning taking up the cross. Also, we would have all persons to know, that as we now are friends, so from henceforth we wish to be, and that each of us shall preserve the life, and limbs, and earthly honour of the other against all men to the utmost of his power; and if any person shall have imagined evil against either of us, I, Louis, will help Henry, king of England, to the utmost of my power, against all men, as my homager and my faithful friend; and I, Henry, will help Louis, king of France, against all men, to the utmost of my power, as my lord, saving the faith which we ought to keep to our subjects as long as they shall keep faith with us. And neither of us, from henceforth, shall retain in his own land an enemy of the other, from the time when a demand shall have been made; and, that all matter of discord may be taken away between us, we mutually agree, that of all the lands and possessions, and all other things which each of us now holds, neither of us shall henceforth seek to deprive the other, that being excepted about Auvergne, concerning which there is a contest between us, and except the fief of the castle of Ralf, and except the small fiefs and divisions of our lands of Berry, if our men shall have taken anything from thence between themselves, or against either of us. But if, concerning these matters above excepted, we shall not be able to agree between ourselves, I, Louis, king of France, have selected three bishops, the bishop of Clermont, and of Nevers, and of Troyes; and three barons, count Theobald, count Robert, and Peter de Courtney, my brothers: and I, Henry, king of England, have chosen three bishops, William of Mans, Peter, bishop of Perigeux, and Robert of Nantes; and three barons, Maurice de Creun, William de Mangunel, and Peter de Montrabel, on my part, who shall in every respect make diligent inquisition of

[1] See Hoved. fol. 325, b.

the truth; and the aforesaid bishops shall solemnly declare, and the laymen shall swear, as well by themselves as by the oath of all those territories, that they will declare whatever they know to be right and just between us, and we, in good truth, will firmly abide by what they shall say. But if all those bishops cannot be present whom I, Louis, have chosen, nevertheless, I will abide by what any two of them who shall be present may say; and if all the barons named on my part shall not be present, there shall be no reason, on that account, why I should not abide by the word of any two who may be present: and likewise, on my part, the same rule shall hold good in regard to the bishops and barons which I, Henry, have selected. Also, we have sworn that they shall suffer no harm from us on account of the truth which they shall have spoken. And if, perchance, (which God forbid!) any cause for complaint should arise between us hereafter, concerning our territories, it shall, without delay, be determined by these same parties in good faith, and without any evil will on our part: but if, in the meantime, any one of the aforesaid persons shall die, another shall be substituted in his place.

"But if a wish to enter on foreign travel shall take possession of either of us before we take the cross, the one who shall remain at home shall faithfully guard and hold in hand the territory of the other who shall be on travel, and also his subjects, as if they were his own, and he were their lord.

"But when, by God's will, we shall have taken up the cross, we will cause our subjects who go with us to swear, that, if either of us die on the journey, (which calamity may God avert!) they shall faithfully serve him who shall be the survivor, as they would serve their own lord if he were living, as long as he shall wish to remain in the Holy Land. Moreover, the survivor shall have the money of the dead for the service of the christian religion, except that portion of it which before his journey he shall have decreed to be given to certain places and to certain persons. And if both of us shall depart this life, (which God forbid!) we will choose, before we begin our journey, if God grant us time so to do, some persons from the honourable and faithful men who accompany us, to whom shall be entrusted the money of both of us for the service of Christianity, and who shall lead and may rule over our subjects.

"But, after we have taken the cross, we will cause them whom we shall appoint guardians and rulers over our territories to swear that, in good faith, with all their power, if any necessity should arise, they will help one another to defend our respective lands, when they shall have been required by each other to do so; so that they whom I, Henry, king of England, shall have set over my lands to govern them, shall so help to defend the territories of my lord, Louis of France, as they would defend my territories if my city of Rouen were besieged: and, in the same manner, I engage that those whom I, Louis, shall have appointed to govern my territories shall help to defend the territories of Henry, king of England, to the utmost of their power, as they would defend my own territories if

my city of Paris were besieged; also, I wish that merchants, and all persons, both clergy and laity, together with everything belonging to them, may be in security, and have peace throughout my dominions: and I, Henry, king of England, in like manner wish that merchants and all persons, whether clergy or laymen, of the dominions of my lord, the king of France, may be in security, and may have peace with everything belonging to them throughout all my territories.

"We have promised and sworn that we will observe all these things above mentioned, in the presence of Peter, the venerable cardinal-presbyter of St. Chrysogonus, legate of the apostolic see, and in the presence of Richard, bishop of Winchester, and John, bishop of Chartres, and Henry, bishop of Bayeaux; and Frogerius, bishop of Seez, and Giles, bishop of Evreux, and also of Henry, the son of the king of England; and of count Theobald, and count Robert, and Peter de Curtene, and earl Simon, and William de Humez, and of many others, clergy as well as laymen."

CHAP. VI.—OF THE TWO CARDINALS WHO WERE SENT, IN THE MEANTIME, INTO NORMANDY, TO MAKE INQUIRY CONCERNING THE DEATH OF THOMAS THE MARTYR.

IN the meantime[1] the two legates, Albert and Theodin, sent across the sea by the court of Rome, came into Normandy to make careful inquiry concerning the death of the martyr; in whose presence the king purged himself of the crime upon oath, and declared his innocence, which was rather pretended than in reality; affirming, in his confession, that, although he had not been the author of the crime, yet, perhaps, he had been the occasion of it: for he said the soldiers, who were the agents of this murder and wickedness, had not perpetrated the deed at his bidding. Amongst some other things which the legates enjoined him, in the place of penance, they firmly bound him by his oath, (and that oath made in his own person,) to the effect that, within the space of three years next ensuing, he would perform the promise (to which he had sworn on a previous occasion) of undertaking a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

CHAP. VII.—OF THE THREE MONASTERIES ERECTED AS A COMPENSATION FOR HIS PILGRIMAGE TO JERUSALEM, SO OFTEN DECEITFULLY PROMISED.

BUT the three years having elapsed, having sent ambassadors across the sea to Rome, to entreat a delay of his journey, he promised, by his own solemn engagement, that, at his own cost, he would found three monasteries in his dominions; and so, by his long and deceitful delay, because he could not in security go forward without him, he altogether rendered void, in regard to glory, not in regard to grace, the laudable design of the most serene and christian prince, who was now, in the meantime, verging towards

[1] This occurred in A.D. 1172; see also Giraldus' treatise, Hibernia Expugnata, cap. xxxvi. p. 778, and the Epistolæ S. Thomæ, ed. Lupus, p. 882.

old age.[1] But he thus founded the three monasteries which he was bound to establish as a compensation for his pilgrimage. The canons of Waltham, who from ancient times had served God in a singularly holy manner, he reduced by the royal power to a conventual and common life and rule. The nuns of Ambresbury,[2] (so called from the court of Ambrosius,) who had been settled there from ancient times, he extirpated, and violently intruded others who came from beyond the sea from Fontevrault. But in regard to the third, he did nothing at all, or no more than what he did for the former, which was useless to himself in every respect; unless, perhaps, in addition to this, he may be said to have founded, at his own moderate expense, the conventual house of the Carthusians at Witham,[3] and that, indeed, a small one; thus endeavouring, by human sophistry and craftiness, to circumvent the sincere and merciful patience of God.

But what power has human craft against the divine counsels? "There is no wisdom nor understanding nor counsel against the Lord."[4] "They are wise to do evil, but to do good they have no knowledge."[5] Nevertheless, as says the apostle, "Where is the wise? where is the scribe? where is the disputer of this world?"[6] and again, "I would have you wise unto that which is good, and simple concerning evil."[7] For no one is wise from himself, but from His inspiration concerning whom it is said, "All wisdom cometh from the Lord;"[8] and elsewhere, "Be not wise in your own conceits:"[9] to which agrees that saying of Isaiah,[10] "Woe unto them that are wise in their own eyes, and prudent in their own sight!" also, "The wisdom of the flesh is death;"[11] and subsequently, "The wisdom of the flesh is enmity with God;"[12] and again, "The wisdom of the world is foolishness with God."[13] Moreover, in addition to these things, Augustine says, "If you lie unto the Lord, you lie to Him whom you cannot deceive; you can lie to God, but you cannot deceive God. He sees within, He examines the heart, and, according to that which is within, He condemns or rewards." Also St. James, "Glory not, and lie not against the truth; this wisdom descendeth not from above, but is earthly and devilish."[14] Also Cassiodorus says, "He is a fool who is empty of heavenly wisdom, and full of human artifices." Also the apostle,[15] "I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and will bring to nothing the understanding of the prudent;" whence Job[16] says, "He taketh the wise in their own craftiness;" and the same apostle,[17] "The foolishness of God is wiser than men, and the weakness of God is stronger than men."

Therefore, how foolish, infatuated, perverse, and obstinate was

[1] Namely, Louis VII, king of France, who died at Paris, 18th September, 1180, aged about sixty years.

[2] Amesbury in Wiltshire; see Dugd. Monast. ii. 333, 335, ed. Ellis; Tanner, Notit. Monast. p. 589.

[3] In Somersetshire; see Tanner, p. 470.

[4] Prov. xxi. 30.
[5] Jer. iv. 22.
[6] 1 Cor. i. 20.
[7] Rom. xvi. 19.
[8] Ecclus. i. 1.
[9] Rom. xii. 16.
[10] Isa. v. 21.
[11] See Rom. viii. 6, marg.
[12] Jam. iv. 4.
[13] 1 Cor. iii. 19.
[14] Jam. iii. 14, 15.
[15] 1 Cor. i. 19.
[16] Job v. 13.
[17] 1 Cor. i. 25.

thy folly, O king! craftiness of speech, or the ornaments of eloquence are altogether unavailing with Him whom virtue alone and truth can persuade, or, as it were, force, to grant His favours, (for "the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force.")[1] He who is not confined by place is the best logician with whom the points of all arguments can be disputed. He will distinguish the emptiness of all fallacies, for He cannot be Himself deceived. He refutes them with whom innocence prevails more than craft; in whose sight simplicity is of more value than refinement; truth of more avail than a multitude of words; speechless modesty more than sinful eloquence: nor does that logician weary with lengthened disputation; for He includes and concludes all under one syllogism, for He will lay down the law, assume the transgression, and conclude the condemnation.

Chap. VIII.—Of the Punishment sent from God upon King Henry, and of the Death of the young King, his Son.

But the more he separated himself from the Lord by his wicked actions, the more the divine mercy inclined to invite him at one time by benefits, and at another to harass him by punishments, that he might come again to his proper senses. For his son Henry, on account of a quarrel which lately arose between him and his brother Richard, count of Poictou, who was then in favour with his father, after a few years had passed, again departing from his father, commenced hostilities, and seized upon a large part of Poictou. He carried about with him in his train many of the principal nobles of the country, whom he had allured to his cause, and much of the Gallic youth who were fit for military service, and also a renowned soldier, his brother Geoffrey, count of Brittany, the mover of the whole evil, who, surrounded by a strong cohort of Britons, as a body-guard, was harassing the confines of Normandy and Anjou with all his power. In consequence of this, the king, deeply moved with anxiety at so great disturbances, suddenly bursting forth, assembled an army from every quarter, and marched as far as Limoges to the assistance of count Richard.

But not far from hence, namely, at Marcel,[2] the young king had gathered together, in a short time, a multitude of armed men, greater than was ever before assembled at any time by a man having neither territory nor treasure. When, therefore, the day of so great a conflict and danger was drawing nearer, the party of his father, being far inferior both in courage as well as in arms, (for the son was altogether beloved by every one, but the father was so hostile and hateful to all, that, if by the chance of war he had advanced from his own dominions, as was afterwards known and discovered, he would have been delivered up as a captive to his son in the first conflict,) the son, I say, (alas! what grief to all,) in the meantime, was seized with a mortal disease, and died[3] within the shortest

[1] Matt. xi. 12.
[2] St. Marcel, near Argenton, in the Department of the Indre
[3] A.D. 1183; see Robert de M[illegible] 808.

possible time. This great contention was put an end to by his death; and, to the no small grief of both armies, this man of invincible valour fell conquered by a premature death, about the kalends of June [1] [1st June].

But so great and so immoderate a grief oppressed his father, by a sorrow beyond all comparison deep, that, refusing all consolation, and perplexed between two evils, he declared that he had far rather that his son had triumphed over him than that death should have triumphed over his son.

CHAP. IX.—OF THE PRAISE OF HENRY THE THIRD.

I HAVE not thought it foreign to my subject to insert here, in the same words, what my "Topographical History of Ireland" declares concerning the praise belonging to Henry the third; for, after a treatise concerning the brothers in common, an account of this one in particular is presently subjoined, after this manner:[2]—

"Of all his sons, the chief and the eldest, (for the first-born had already deceased,) Henry, enjoying his father's name as well as his honour, of a great father a greater son, of a noble one yet more illustrious, he was as though another Hector, the son of Priam, an honour to his friends, a terror to his enemies, and beloved by all; going forth amidst an armed host, as lightning from fire, he was the only hope and fear in the minds of all. An honour of all honour, the beauty and ornament of the city and of the world, the splendour, glory, light, and highest honour of war, a Julius Cæsar in genius, in valour a Hector, an Achilles in strength, an Augustus in conduct, a Paris in beauty. When he was unarmed and in private he was gentle and affable, mild and beloved; if any occasion were given of any injuries he was affectionately ready to forgive, and far more ready to pardon than to condemn, however guilty the offender might be. He had so regulated his mind, that he refused nothing worthy of being given to any one, esteeming it unworthy of himself that any one should go away from him sad, or with his wish ungratified. Moreover, he thought that day lost in which, by every kind of liberality, he could not allure many to himself, and gain over, by a manifold profusion of kindnesses, both the hearts and even the persons of men.

"But when he was in arms, and engaged in military affairs with the helmet on his head, he was lofty, unbridled, fierce, and far more ferocious than any wild beast; everywhere, for the most part, triumphing by his valour more than by his fortune, and truthfully representing another Hector, the son of Priam, except that Hector fought for his father and his country, and this one, on the contrary, alas! by wicked persuasion, took up arms against them. In short, this was his only wish, and his chief desire, to be able to obtain an occasion for the exercise of his great activity; and, like another Julius, he sought the time in which the valour of a man might worthily be displayed. To this we may also add, that he was sur-

[1] The true date is the 11th of June, 1183.

[2] A considerable portion of this passage is not found in Camden's edition of the Topographia Hiberniæ; the remainder occurs at p. 752.

rounded by an army so select and fully equipped, as in our own days or before was never seen nor heard to have followed one leader. For, besides many others, who were the most valiant amongst such picked men, like a second Macedonian, he had of his own domestics a hundred or more, of whom each man felt confident that, by the power of his single hand, he ought to conquer in any tournament, to which, as by proclamation, the bravest military men assembled from every quarter for the sake of proving their strength and valour. From whence, also, and since nothing human can be altogether perfect, envious nature, refusing to allow so much inborn grace of good qualities to be centred in one man, affixed one most remarkable blot upon the dazzling fairness of such beauty, rendering this man notable only for the fault of ingratitude, and the affliction which he brought to the best of fathers. Of whom, amongst the other wonders connected with his history, this may even be set down for a miracle, that almost the whole world followed this man, utterly devoid as he was both of territory and treasure, who, as it was hoped, would in a short time have reformed the monarchy of the world, if such an unfavourable series of misfortunes had not so very hastily, and prematurely, and unexpectedly snatched away such a blooming flower of the spring, in the thirty-ninth year of his age, the fourteenth of his coronation, and, from the incarnation of our Lord, in the year one thousand one hundred and eighty-two." [1]

CHAP. X.—OF COUNT GEOFFREY, NOW A SECOND TIME ALIENATED FROM HIS FATHER, AND OF HIS UNEXPECTED DEATH SOON AFTERWARDS.

MOREOVER, when after a few years the severity of his grief was in a slight degree abated by the gentle hand of time, and when, his disquietude and suffering being a little relaxed, he would have had as it were a short breathing space to recover himself, (for no earthly tranquillity is of long continuance, and grief always follows hard on the extremity of joy,) to add to the vexation, and, at the same time, to the sorrow of this unhappy king, the renowned count Geoffrey, of Armorican Brittany, a third time totally separated himself from his father, on account of the implacable discord which, in like manner, had arisen between himself and his brother, count Richard, of Poictou, about the boundaries of their respective dominions, because, as the eldest son, he had been favoured by his father, and he revolted to Philip, the son of Louis, who now was reigning in France instead of his father.

For this had been the perverse nature of king Henry, that, with all his power, he excited and perpetuated quarrels between his sons, hoping from their discord to gain peace and quietness to himself. But count Geoffrey had so attached to himself the minds of king Philip and of all the nobles of France, that, by their unanimous vote, he was created seneschal of France; and he was raised to so great power, and was admitted to such great familiarity with the king, and had so excited both the king of France, and the whole of that realm generally, against his father and his brother by his per-

[1] Read, A.D. 1183.

suasive words, (for he was, at the same time, most eloquent and affectionate,) that, if he had not been prevented by death, he would have raised against them such disquietude as they had never before experienced. For when so great a disturbance, supported by an armed force, and with its groundwork deeply laid, was even begun, count Geoffrey was seized with a fever, (the same mortal disease which carried off his brother,) and within a very few days, to the grief of all France, and especially of the king, he died at Paris about the first of August.[1] King Philip was afflicted with such deep sorrow and despair at his death, that, in proof both of his love for him and of the honour in which he was held, the count was ordered by him to be buried before the high altar in the cathedral church of Paris, which is dedicated to the blessed Virgin; and when the solemnity of the funeral rites was finished, and with the last earth cast upon it, the body was lowered down to be enclosed in the mournful sepulchre, so great was the vehemence of his grief, that he had prepared to cast himself into the open grave with the body itself, if he had not been violently held back by those who were around him.

Moreover, the grief of his father was beyond all grief which had ever been; for there never was sorrow like his sorrow: for this affliction, following upon it, again awakened the grief for his former son, which time had laid to rest. The wounds had begun to harden, over which time had drawn a scar, but the last stroke opened afresh, with grief, the old wounds; for the recollection of the past ulcerates again that wound of the mind which time and reason had healed: so that it came to pass that he who one while could not live with his sons, now refused to live without them. Oh! how hard, how bitter a lot! for of such pledges of love to a father, not one had lived to grow up, unless as a sorrow by his death, or a vexation by his life. Is not that saying of Hosea[2] suited to such a case as this? "Though they bring up their children, yet will I bereave them;" and further on, "Though they bring forth, yet will I slay even the beloved fruit of their womb."

Chap. XI.—Of the Commendations of Count Geoffrey and of his younger Brother, which are here intermixed with each other.

What, therefore, the History of the Topography of Ireland, already named, brings forward with respect to the commendations of this prince, I have thought right to insert here, mixed with those of his brother; for Armorican Brittany and Ireland proclaim the worthy praises of both of them.[3] Both were of moderate stature, or, rather, somewhat short; and for their size they were of sufficient beauty. Of these, then, the one was renowned for his virtues, the other already deserved the highest commendations; the former was fully instructed in military affairs, the latter had yet to be instructed; the former was the harvest in the ear, the

[1] He died Aug. 19, A.D. 1186; see Anderson's Gen. Tables, p. 742.
[2] Hosea ix. 12, 16.
[3] That is, of Geoffrey and John; see the Topographia Hiberniæ, p. 753.

latter, in the blade; the former was great in reality, the latter to be extolled in anticipation; the one, not a degenerate scion of a renowned stock, according to his powers, equalled his most noble brethren in virtue, the other was not able in his life-time to sully the original excellence implanted in him from both his parents: but the former was eloquent and sagacious, and most prudent, for as he could not be deceived himself, so neither would he deceive others. In war they were of different natures, alike displaying the character of Ulysses as well as of Achilles; but, with grief it must be spoken, being always ungrateful towards their father,—in this respect too faithfully following the plainly-exhibited steps of their noble brother, having in this disposition more of gall than of honey. In appearance, Geoffrey was flowing over with speech, soft as oil, by his sweet and persuasive eloquence having power to tear asunder things most united, able to corrupt two kingdoms with his tongue; of unwearied industry, a hypocrite in everything, changeable, and a dissembler. But, since the man of many[1] words and ungrateful shall not be guided on earth, the Lord neither directed his paths nor multiplied his days.

But so dissolute and hot was his youth, that he was equally ensnared by allurements and driven on to action by stimulants, easily persuaded to vice, harsh towards those who admonished him of his faults, conforming himself to the moment, and making no resistance to his natural inclinations; possibly, indeed, by reason of his age, hitherto more addicted to luxurious living than to war; and to delicacies than to the hardness of a soldier; to sensual pleasures more than to virtue: for he had more of youthful levity in him than of the maturity of manhood, to which he had not yet attained; most of all, practised in that kind of war in which every lover carries arms; by which, also, young men of an ingenuous disposition are wont to be animated very generally to armed war, and to be raised from the camp of Cupid to the arts and warlike pursuits of Pallas. As, therefore, what was reasonable for his unripe youth, so what is right for his advancing years will follow; whence, also, since it does not shame to have sported in youth, so neither does it to put an end to sport; juvenile levity is excusable when maturer years are themselves praiseworthy; age is then first free from blame when time places bounds to youthful sports. He, the former, as a tree turning its boughs towards the root, was unable to strike deeply into the earth; this, the last of the brothers (would that he may not be the last in virtue!) was generally obedient to both his parents, and deserved to live long and happily on earth.

Gracious heaven! if such brothers would have regarded the fraternal compact between each other, if they would have looked towards their father with filial affection, and would have been united by the twofold bond of affection, as well as of nature, how great, how inestimable, how renowned, how incomparable to all future time, would have been the glory of their father and the victory of his offspring! Oh, how illustrious would have been their

[1] See Psal. cxxix. 12. Vulg.

memory, and their history worthy to be unfolded by the genius of a Maro! For what valour could resist these powers, what kings could stand against these kings, or what kingdoms could successfully oppose such leaders in war? for materials on which to exercise such virtue the world itself is too small; the earth could not suffice to unfold the triumphal titles of such valour. The ruin itself, therefore, of these precious scions, so great and so premature, plainly shows to how great a bulk and height the oak would have grown with its natural branches adhering to it, and drawing nourishment from the root. For as the branches cut off from the parent stem do not unite and grow of themselves, so, also, the tree mutilated of its branches, together with the injury inflicted by treason, is lessened both in dignity and beauty.

CHAP. XII.—THAT NOT ONLY BY STRIPES, BUT ALSO BY FREQUENT REVELATIONS AND THREATENINGS FROM GOD, KING HENRY WAS PREMONISHED AND CHASTENED IN VAIN.

BUT a pitiful and merciful God, who willeth not the death of the sinner, but rather that he should be converted and live, very frequently aroused this same king to repentance, not only by heavy afflictions and persecutions, but even by threatenings and revelations from heaven. For example, (as we have recorded in the Itinerary,[1]) in the second year after the passion and victory of our martyr, Thomas, because from that time his revelations as well as his persecutions began, the king, on his return from Ireland, because he had already landed at St. David's on the morrow of Easter, when he had passed the night of the Saturday before Easter on the sea-coast of South Wales, at the castle of Cardiff, having heard mass on the morning of the morrow, namely, the Lord's-day, where all had gone forth from the chapel of St. Pyran, except the king, who, possibly for prayer, remained longer than all the rest beyond the customary time; at length, when he was coming out, and was now mounting his horse at the door of the chapel, a certain man stood near him before his face, using, as an elevated place, a post set up in front, from the gate leading to the chapel and the court, having auburn hair, and a round tonsure, and a thin countenance; of a stature somewhat tall, and being, as it were, about forty years of age, clothed in a white tunic, closed, and reaching down to the bottom of the feet, girt with a girdle, and having his feet bare, who addressed the king in these words, in the Teutonic dialect, "God houlde dhe cuning;"[2] and then, in the same tongue, he proceeded to this effect,—"Christ salutes you, and His holy mother, and John Baptist, and Peter the apostle, commanding you, that, through all the lands subject to your power, as far as you can, you strictly prohibit buying and selling on the Lord's-day; and that in those days no other work be done, except the celebration of the divine offices, and that men do hear them with devotion; and that no

[1] See the Itinerarium Cambriæ, i. 6 (p. 840, ed. Camd.), and the Hibernia Expugnata, p. 779.

[2] "The meaning of which is, 'God protect thee, O king!'" Itin. Camb. p. 890.

food be prepared except what is necessary for daily use. If you shall do this, every undertaking shall prosper in your hands, and you shall complete a happy life." But the king said, in the French language, to Philip de Mercres, the soldier who was holding the bridle of the horse, who was a native of those parts, and who openly declared the same to us as a true history, "Ask of this rustic whether he has dreamed this?" and when the soldier explained this in English, the other replied, in the former language, (speaking to the king, not to the interpreter,) "Whether I have dreamed this or not, attend to what may happen to-day, because, unless you shall do this, and shall have speedily amended your life, before this year has passed away you shall hear such rumours of those things which you love most dearly in the world, and from thence you shall experience such trouble, as shall not fail to attend you to the end of your life." And when the king, at this saying, had spurred his horse, and had gone forward a little towards the gate, not more than about eight paces, thinking upon what he had heard, he reined in his horse, and said, "Call that good man to me." And when the aforesaid soldier, and a certain young man, whose name was William, who alone had remained in the town with the king, had called him, and had sought for him to find him, first in the chapel, and afterwards through the court, and all the places where persons lodged, he was nowhere to be seen. But the king, when he could not be found, and when they had sought him in the town, whilst he remained alone expecting him, sorrowful, and very much distressed, because he had not spoken any more to him, took his way towards Newburgh,[1] by the bridge of the Remney.[2] But as that man had promised in his warning, so it happened before the year was completed; for his three sons, Henry, the eldest, and the other two, those, namely, of Poictou and of Brittany, had revolted during the following Lent, and joined themselves to Louis, the French king; from whence such great trouble arose as he had never before experienced, and which almost incessantly lasted, through some one or other of his sons, even to the very last breath of his life. For, by the accurately-weighed vengeance of God, he found his own sons after the flesh were, in their conduct towards himself, such a son as he had shown himself to his spiritual father.

Moreover, in about the third year after this revelation, and the persecution during two years which followed, a certain simple-minded, upright, and just man, living in Ireland, (who, however, was not an Irishman, but an Englishman,) heard in his dreams the following call: "Go to the king of England, and tell him this, so that he may render to every one his due, and change his life for the better; otherwise he shall in a short time incur the exterminating anger of God." And when he had heard this same voice on the following night, and on the third also, together with the threat declared by it, and also certain tokens being given in the meantime, which were to be shown to the king, most secret with himself, and neither known to nor suitable for any person except him

[1] Probably Newport, on the banks of the Usk. [2] The river Rhymney.

alone, beginning his journey forthwith, he passed over the two arms of the sea, (that is to say, the French and Irish channel,) and, according to the foregoing words, he came to the king in the confines of French Aquitaine. But the king, being neither corrected nor moved by this message, the messenger returned to his own place, having fulfilled his mission. But when, in the commencement of his journey, the man had passed over the Irish channel, and was going over into France, he found the bishop of St. David's, by name Peter,[1] and his archdeacon,[2] (he it was who wrote these things,) in a certain monastery of the Cistercian order, called Alba Landa,[3] who immediately, in secret, revealed to the bishop the cause of his journey, and the bishop to the archdeacon.

CHAP. XIII.—THE REVELATION MADE TO ROGER DE ESTREBY, A SOLDIER, IN THE CONFINES OF LINCOLNSHIRE.

ABOUT this time, but a little after, a revelation of the following kind was made to a certain soldier, in the parts of Lincolnshire, whose name was Roger de Estreby:—When he was walking in the field alone, he heard at first a louder voice, and afterwards a softer one, witnessing to the same thing, and saying to him, that he should go to London, to Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, and to Ralph de Glanville, chief-justice of England, and say to them, on the part of God, that they should immediately pass over the sea to king Henry, and tell him to fulfil the seven commandments which He had commanded him; and that, if he did this, then he should live honourably for seven years, and should make diligent search to recover the cross of Christ from His enemies, and should end his life happily. But, if he would not do these things, that he should not live more than four years, and die an ignominious death. But the man, thinking that it was some apparition, strengthened himself by the sign of the cross, and adjured the devil that he should depart from him. But, on the other hand, they whose voices were heard said that it was on the part of God; and when he inquired who they were, they said that they were Peter and Gabriel. Moreover, he very frequently heard them protesting this same thing; but he placed no faith in them. At length, when this had now continued for a year and a half, on the Thursday before Midlent Sunday, he went to see his ploughs, and heard those voices enjoining him to do the same thing; and they asked him to sell to them the rick of beans which he had, and which he had exposed to sale for fifteen marks, and to distribute it to the poor, (for it was a dear time,) and they themselves would give him ten marks more than any one else had offered him for it. And also they promised they would obtain for him his breastplate, (a very valuable one,) which he had pledged with Aaron the Jew; and that he would think what security he wished for it, and they would give it him. But he then, for the first time, conjectured that they had power on

[1] Peter de Leia, who filled the see of St. David's from A. D. 1176 to 1198; see Hardy's Le Neve, i. 290.

[2] Namely, Giraldus Cambrensis himself.

[3] See Dugd. Monast. v. 591.

the part of God, because they had a care for the poor: and when he had thought a little upon this, he said to them, that if a certain cross in a certain church of his province, which from ancient times had been held in great reverence and authority in those parts, and which bore upon it the image of Him who was crucified, would tell him this, he would have faith both in these as well as in their former words. To whom they replied, that he should go thither immediately, and hear the mass of the Holy Ghost, and he should hear the cross speaking to him. But he, forthwith going thither, asked the priest to say mass; which being done, when the soldier was standing in the nave of the church, and was diligently observing the cross, which had been placed before the entrance of the sanctuary, to excite the devotion of the laity, at the hour itself of the sacrament he saw the crucifix joining its hands before it, and enjoining him to have faith in the words of those whom he had sent to him, namely, of St. Peter the apostle, and the archangel Gabriel; and that he would take in hand to make good their promises, because they were his own: and having said this, he drew back his hands as they were before. The soldier, after the mass was finished, thinking that the priest and the few who were present had heard the voice, and had seen how the arms were placed before the body, and afterwards drawn back, went to speak to them about the matter; but they had heard nothing, nor had those who were in the nave heard or seen anything; nor (which is even more wonderful) had they heard the voice of the soldier speaking with the crucifix. But he himself immediately returned home, and ordered the beans to be thrashed, and to be distributed to the poor, his wife and family much blaming him for it. But, first of all, a little old woman, of venerable appearance, received from him a basket full of beans; and when he was going to another village, he met a certain aged man, bearing at his back, as it were, palms from Jerusalem, who asked him to give him something to eat, if he had anything; and he counted out and gave him twenty beans, which he ate, and, giving him thanks, vanished out of his sight. But those beans, when they were distributed to every poor person who asked for them, lasted from Midlent Sunday even until three weeks before the nativity of St. John the Baptist; but these were in number about sixty-six seames and a half: but when they were all distributed, except a seame and a half, at the instigation of his family, he sold them for half a mark, which he sent to a certain merchant to whom he had owed it; for neither had he been able to settle the debt previously, nor had he any means to pay it from any other source. But immediately this had taken place, when he walked in the court of his house, he heard the voices sharply threatening him, because he had appropriated to other uses what he had given, or rather had sold, to God; and when he replied that he had done so because they had not kept their agreement with him, because he had not as yet had his breastplate, they said to him, "Yes, but you have it, and it lies at the feet of your bed;" and, when he went to see, so he found it. And when he had returned again, they were enraged against him, and thundered out

threatenings; and immediately a fiery globe surrounded him, by the impetus of which he was carried down into the deep, as into the bottomless pit.

And as he incessantly begged for the mercy of God, and invoked the blessed Virgin, they told him forthwith to go and buy three seames of beans, a seame and a half for the other, (which for that reason he should restore,) and the other seame and a half he should bestow upon the poor, as a punishment for his transgression; which being said and granted, he found himself in his own court, entirely unhurt, in the same place from which he thought that he had been hurried away, and no fire was anywhere visible; and, immediately mounting his horse, he went and bought the beans. But when three seames which he had brought were given to the poor, by ten basins in the day, they increased to as many as thirty seames, and lasted from three weeks before the feast of St. John even to as many weeks completed in the autumn; from whence, by reckoning up the days and basins, eighty-seven seames were produced from the three: and many other events occurred full of wonder.

But at length, after many things as though miraculously seen about this affair, the soldier passed over the sea into Normandy to the king, who publicly professed that he would fulfil to the letter those seven commandments; and he immediately began, on the spot, to restore their hereditary possessions, and all other things which had been taken away from those persons who made complaint to him, and also gave back their rights to those who made them known; and for this purpose a great concourse of people assembled, even through a great part of the night; and then, because they were hungry, the full accomplishment of what had been begun in such a praiseworthy manner was put off until the morning. But on the morrow, this call being made, and an infinite number running together, some in order that the possessions which they had lost might be restored, others that their services might be given back to them, the king, by bad advice, growing cold from his yesterday's devotion, again delayed the work; and so, from day to day, by delays and disappointments, and by vexations of many persons following upon this, both of poor and rich, the whole matter vanished. But these are the seven commands:—three, to which he solemnly gave his oath at his coronation, concerning the maintenance of the church of God; secondly, concerning the observance of the just laws of the kingdom; thirdly, that he would condemn to death no one without legal judgment, even though he were guilty; fourthly, in regard to hereditary possessions to be restored, and justice to be done; in the fifth place, that justice should be rendered freely, and without cost; in the sixth place, that all their services should be given up to his own officers; in the seventh place, that he would expel all Jews from his dominions, a portion of their money being left to them, that they might be able to depart and to live with their families, but that they should have no securities nor title-deeds, but that each person should receive his own.

CHAP. XIV.—HOW THE LORD AROUSED HIM TO CONVERSION BY PUNISHMENTS AND REVELATIONS; SO ALSO, SOMETIMES BY KINDNESSES, AND EVEN, AS IT WERE, BY CARESSES.

As a pious father, He chastened His son with threatenings and stripes for his amendment; so also, preserving him alive, and unwilling to destroy, by his own depraved affections, him whom He had created and whom He had redeemed, He often invited him to conversion by kindnesses, and even, as it were, by caresses, after his grievous faults, and sometimes by granting him tranquillity—in short, by omitting nothing, if, indeed, there was anything which could touch his heart.[1]

But how great tranquillity and earthly glory the Lord, long-suffering and patiently waiting, had as yet mercifully granted to him, about that time and before it, is made clear from the following letters, and others inserted amongst some of them, by particular grants, and by his own written will, which, beyond any doubt, was the offspring rather of ostentation than of devotion.

CHAP. XV.—LETTERS TESTIFYING OPENLY THE RECONCILIATION OF KING HENRY WITH KING PHILIP.

"HENRY,[2] by the grace of God, king of England, duke of Normandy and Guienne, count of Anjou, to his faithful and beloved Ralph de Glanville, sends health.

"The more our gracious Redeemer has vouchsafed to regard our person, and of His mercy prosperously to direct our actions, with the greater devotion we ought to dwell upon His praises, and to obey His commands. Therefore the sincerity of your love may know that, although some have in this part been very much opposed to us, whom we had expected to be kindly inclined and of good will to us, by the grace of the Holy Spirit assisting us, we have altogether, at our good will and disposition, made a firm and honourable peace, for the security of ourselves and of our children, with our lord the king of France and the earl of Flanders, and with all other our adversaries of those parts; which, as it seems to us and to our friends, through the infinite mercy of God, we have obtained for our honour and security; so that, for our good pleasure, our Lord, of His mercy, has reconciled to us all those who are subjected to the dominion of the kingdom of France, and has very much added to our glory, and to the exaltation and increase of our honour. Besides these things, be it known to you, that He has added to our good fortune, that, by our good will and direction, for the honour and advantage of us and of all of them, we have happily reconciled our lady the queen dowager of France, and the lord archbishop of Rheims, and the duke of Burgundy, and count Theobald, and count de Lato, and Reginald of Maurienne, with our lord the king of France, and the earls of Flanders and Hainault. You shall know, also, that both our sons, and also our subjects, conduct themselves

[1] Giraldus here inserts some passages from the Psalms, Isidore, Gregory, and Augustine, upon the divine forbearance.

[2] This letter, quoted also by Diceto, may probably be referred to A.D. 1182.

according to our will; and all our undertakings prosper, through God's grace. But what may be our future intention, we will signify to you as soon as we shall be able to do so. In the meantime, therefore, as we have full confidence in you, do not cease to occupy yourself about our affairs with all your diligence.

"Given at Gisors, in the presence of master Walter de Constantiis, archdeacon of Oxford."

CHAP. XVI.—LETTERS PUBLICLY MAKING KNOWN THE PEACE AND RECONCILIATION WHICH WAS ACCOMPLISHED THROUGH THE MEDIATION OF KING HENRY, BETWEEN THE KING OF FRANCE AND THE EARL OF FLANDERS.

"THE same king Henry sends health to his beloved and faithful Ralph de Glanville. Know that, on the close of Easter,[1] between Gerberoi and Couci, a conference being there held, through the grace of God, very much by our earnest intervention, and through our anxiety, peace and reconciliation were effected between our lord the king of France, and the earl of Flanders, and those who had joined the earl; so that, on that very day, oath was made that it should be held firm on both sides, as it was declared: and, moreover, I pledged myself to cause that the treaty should go forward, as it had been arranged between the parties. But this was the tenor of the peace which was concluded: the earl of Flanders and his confederates are to render homage, allegiance, service, and fealty to our lord the king of France, as they did before the war began. And they who have been dispossessed by the war shall have such possession of their lands as they had fifteen days before they began the war; and all who have been taken prisoners shall be liberated, and free from molestation on both sides; excepting this, that any ransom which has been paid shall not be restored, nor shall any which ought to be paid be demanded. In regard to the district of Peronne and Vermandois, the matter shall stand thus—that the count of Flanders publicly acknowledged that he claims no jurisdiction in the territory of Vermandois, save only the charges which he has incurred in its improvement. Moreover, the count of Flanders gave up Pierrefont to the king of France; and the same king gave up the castle of Soissons to the bishop; and the bishop shall deliver up to the lady Agatha all her hereditary possessions. But the count of Claremont, and Ralph de Courcy, are entirely in the hand of our lord the king of France, free and unmolested by the count of Flanders, in regard to that which they held of him as a fief in the territory of Vermandois. But since the duke of Burgundy, and the countess of Champagne, and those who adhered to them, were not present at the aforesaid peace, when it was concluded, it is necessary, in my opinion, for the consummation of the peace, if they will, that, on the Sunday following the close of Easter, they should come to some place between Senlis and Crepy en Valois, that what remains to consummate the peace may there be accomplished, so as to render it firm and lasting."

[1] The Sunday after Easter, which, in A.D. 1183, fell upon the 24th of April.

CHAP. XVII.—LETTERS SETTING FORTH THE WILL OF KING HENRY, SOLEMNLY MADE AT WALTHAM.

"HENRY, king of England, duke of Normandy and Guienne, and count of Anjou, to Henry the king, Richard, Geoffrey, and John, his sons; to all archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, barons, justices, and bailiffs, throughout the whole extent of his dominions, health and greeting.

"I make known to you, that, at Waltham, in the presence of Richard, bishop of Winchester, John, bishop of Norwich, Geoffrey, the chancellor, my son, master Walter de Constantiis, archdeacon of Oxford, and Godfrey de Lucy, archdeacon of Derby, Ralph de Glanville, Roger, the son of Remfrid, Hugh of Morewic, Ralph, the son of Stephen the chamberlain, and William Rufus, I have made my will as to the disposal of a certain portion of my money, according to the manner following.

"To the military house of the temple at Jerusalem I give five thousand marks of silver; to the house of the hospital at Jerusalem, five thousand marks of silver; for the common defence of the Holy Land, five thousand marks of silver; to be received by the hand, and in the presence of the masters of the temple and the hospital at Jerusalem, except that money which I had before entrusted to be kept by the aforesaid houses, (namely, of the temple and the hospital), which I give, in like manner, for the defence of the land of Jerusalem itself, unless I shall wish to revoke the same in my life-time.

"And to the other religious houses of the whole of the land of Jerusalem, to that of the lepers, and of the anchorites, and of the hermits, in the same land, I give five thousand marks of silver, to be divided by the hand, and in the presence of the patriarch of Jerusalem, and of the bishops of the Holy Land, and of the masters of the temple and of the hospital.

"To the religious houses of England, of monks, canons, nuns, lepers, and anchorites, and hermits of the same land, five thousand marks of silver, to be divided by the hand, and in the presence of Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, Richard, bishop of Winchester, Baldwin, of Worcester, Geoffery, of Ely, and John, of Norwich, and of Ralph de Glanville, chief-justice of England. To the religious houses of Normandy, of monks, canons, nuns, and anchorites, and hermits of the same land, three thousand marks of silver, to be divided by the hand, and in the presence of the archbishop of Rouen, and of the bishops of Bayeux, Avranches, Seez, and Evreux.

"To the houses of the lepers of the same land, three hundred marks of silver, to be divided by the hand, and in the presence of the parties before named. To the nuns of Mortagne, a hundred marks of silver. To the nuns of Veilers,[1] outside Falaise, one hundred marks of silver.

"To the religious houses of the territory of the count of Anjou, my

[1] Gervase, col. 1460, here reads Julers; the copy in the Fœdera, i. 47, supports the text, and correctly; for the place indicated is Villers Canivet, a league distant from Falaise; see Gall. Christ. xi. 752.

father, (except the nuns of the order of Fontevraud,) one thousand marks of silver, to be divided by the hands of the bishops of Le Mans and Anjou; but to the nuns themselves of Fontevraud, and to the houses of that order, two thousand marks of silver, to be divided by the hand, and in the presence of the abbess of Fontevraud.

"To the nuns of Saint Sulpicius (in Brittany), one hundred marks of silver.

"To the house and order of Grammont, three thousand marks of silver.

"To the house and whole order of the Carthusians, two thousand marks of silver.

"To the house of the Cistercians, and to all the houses of that order, (excepting the houses of the same order which are in my own land, to which I have given a portion,) two thousand marks of silver, to be distributed by the hand, and in the presence of the abbots of Citeaux and Clairvaux.

"To the house of the Cluniacs, a thousand marks of silver, besides that which I have lent to that house, which I fully give to it, unless I shall wish to revoke the gift in my life-time.

"To the house of Marmontier, I entirely give a thousand marks of silver, which I have lent to it, unless I should wish to require them again in my life-time.

"To the nuns near Camac,[1] a hundred marks of silver.

"To the house of Premontre, and to the whole order, (except the houses of the same order which are in my own territory,) two hundred marks of silver.

"To the house of Aroes, and to the whole order, (except the houses of the same order in my own land,) one hundred marks of silver.

"Towards the marriage of poor and free women of England who want assistance, three hundred marks of gold, to be distributed by the hand, and in the presence of Richard, bishop of Winchester, Richard, of Worcester, Geoffrey, of Ely, and John, of Norwich, and Ralph de Glanville.

"For the marriage-portions of poor and free women of Normandy who want assistance, one hundred marks of gold, to be divided by the hand, and in the presence of the archbishop of Rouen, and the bishops of Bayeux, Avranche, Seez, and Evreux.

"For the marriage of poor and free women of the territory of the county of Anjou, which belonged to my father, one hundred marks of gold, to be distributed by the hand, and in the presence of the bishops of Le Mans and Anjou.

"Moreover, I have made this will, in the aforesaid place, in the year of the incarnation of our Lord one thousand one hundred and eighty-two; which I command you, my sons, to cause to be firmly and inviolably kept, by the faith which you owe to me, and the oath you have thereupon sworn to me, and that you lay no hand upon those who have made the will, or who shall be the executors. And whoever shall have presumed to contravene this,

[1] "Martilla," Fœd. i. 47; "Marcilli," Gervase, 1460; probably the Cluniac nuns of Marcigny: see Gall. Christ. iv. 486.

let them incur the indignation and anger of Almighty God, and the curse of God Himself, and mine.

"But to you archbishops and bishops, I command, by the oath which you have sworn to me, and the faith which you owe to God and to myself, that, having solemnly lighted candles in your synods, you excommunicate, and cause to be excommunicated, all those who shall have presumed to violate this my will; and know that our lord the pope has confirmed this my will by his hand and seal, under a threat of anathema. The sum, forty-six thousand marks of silver, and fifty marks of gold.[1]

CHAP. XVIII.—OF THE ORDINANCES EARNESTLY SOUGHT FROM OUR LORD POPE ALEXANDER THE THIRD, ESPECIALLY ON ACCOUNT OF THE WELSH.

BUT he gained privileges from the court of Rome, as well for the establishment of the peace of his own kingdom as for the subjection of his foreign dominions, after the following manner:—

> "Alexander, the bishop, the servant of the servants of God, to his beloved son in Christ, Henry, the illustrious king of England, sends health and his apostolical benediction.

"The greater love and affection we have for your person, and the more widely the liberality of the kingdom of England is known, as beneficial not only to the Roman church, but also to the religious houses of the hospital, and of the knights of the temple, and to the kingdom of Jerusalem, and to almost the whole world of the faithful, with the greater diligence are we bound, with all our power, to procure whatever relates to the safety of your person, and the integrity and tranquillity of the state of your kingdom. Hence it is that we strictly enjoin all and singular persons who are placed under the dominion of the kingdom of England, and direct and command them by our apostolical rescript, that, as far as they can, they observe in everything their bounden faith in Christ, and that, as it is fit, they be submissive and obedient to you as their lord and prince. But if any one of them, despising this our command, and turning aside from the judgment of your court, shall rather have presumed to disquiet you with arms, and to infest your kingdom, we have given in command to the archbishops of the kingdom, that, after the third admonition, (unless he shall be willing to repent, and to return to his allegiance to you, and to a peaceful demeanour,) they publicly, with lighted candles, excommunicate him by our authority, and that, even with greater caution, they denounce him as excommunicated, and as one who, in the meantime, ought to be avoided by all."

CHAP. XIX.—OF THE OTHER ORDINANCES GAINED ON ACCOUNT OF THE IRISH PEOPLE.[2]

BUT the other ordinances, for liberty to invade and subdue Ireland, the reader will also find placed here, after the same tenor in which they are contained in the book "of the Conquest of Ireland."

[1] Rather, 500. This last sentence does not occur in the Fœdera.
[2] Printed also in the author's Hibernia Expugnata, p. 787.

"In the meantime, although very much intent upon and detained by martial exercises, the king of England, amidst his other occupations, was not unmindful of his kingdom of Ireland, together with the infamous letters before remarked upon, which were carefully examined in the synod of Cashel; but, by messengers directed to the court of Rome, he obtained from pope Adrian, a native of England, then presiding over that see, his authority and consent to rule over the Irish people, and to instruct them (for they were most ignorant of the rudiments of the faith) in the ecclesiastical rule and discipline, according to the manner of the English church. Having, therefore, sent over the bull into Ireland by Nicholas, then prior of Wallingford, and soon after abbot of Malmesbury, (who was afterwards deposed,) and also William, son of Aldhelm, a synod of bishops was immediately summoned at Waterford; and a solemn public recitation was made, in the hearing and with the consent of all present, both of this ordinance and also of the other which was sent by the same parties, which the same king had before sought from pope Adrian, the predecessor of Alexander, by John, bishop of Salisbury, afterwards bishop of Chartres, who was sent to Rome for that purpose; by whom also the same pope sent to the king a gold ring, in token of investiture, which, together with the bull, was immediately deposited in the archives of the see of Winchester. For which reason I have not thought it superfluous to insert here the form of both ordinances. But the tenor of the first, and of that first obtained, ran as follows:—

> "'Adrian,[1] bishop, the servant of the servants of God, to his most beloved son in Christ, the illustrious king of England, health and apostolical benediction.

"'Your magnificence thinks, in a sufficiently praiseworthy and fruitful manner, concerning the propagation of the glorious Name throughout the earth, and of the reward of eternal felicity which is laid up in heaven, whilst, as a catholic prince, you are earnestly intent upon enlarging the boundaries of the church, upon declaring the truth of the christian faith to the ignorant and rude people, and upon extirpating all noxious plants from the vineyard of the Lord; and, for the accomplishment of this work more conformably to our judgment, you seek the counsel and favour of the apostolic see. In which work the more you proceed with deeper counsel and greater discretion, the more happy progress in it we are confident that you will have, with God's assistance; because those things are always wont to have a happy issue and termination which have had their beginning in an earnestness for the faith, and a love of religion. In truth, there is no doubt (which points also you recognise) that Ireland, and all the islands in which Christ the Sun of righteousness hath shone, and which have received the documents of the christian faith, belong of right to the blessed Peter, and to the most holy Roman church; for which reason the

[1] See Ussher's Epist. Hibern. Sylloge, p. 109; Diceto, p. 529; Angl. Sacr. ii. 485; Fordun, ii. 287, ed. 1759; Rymer, Fœd. i. 19; Wilkins, Concil. i. 426; Labb. Concil. i. 1143. The date of this bull is probably A. D. 1155.

more, after deep reflection, we see that this is required from us, the more willingly do we place amongst them a faithful plantation and a germ well pleasing to God. Moreover, you have signified to us, most beloved son in Christ, that you wish to enter the island of Ireland, for the purpose of subjugating that people to proper laws, and to root out from thence all noxious plants; and you state that you are willing to make an annual payment from each house of one penny to the blessed St. Peter, and to preserve all the rights of the churches of that land unimpaired and entire. We, therefore, encouraging with suitable favour this your pious and laudable desire, and giving our favourable assent to your petition, accept it as a mark of your gratitude and love for us, that you enter that island for the enlargement of the boundaries of the church, for restraining the downward course of vice, for correcting morals, for implanting virtues, and for the increase of Christ's religion, and that you accomplish whatever purposes may tend to the honour of God, and the salvation of that land; and that, the rights of the churches remaining unimpaired and entire, and the annual payment of one penny from each house to the blessed St. Peter and the most holy Roman church being preserved, the people of that land give you an honourable reception, and venerate you as their liege lord. If, therefore, you shall have resolved effectually to complete what you have conceived in your mind, endeavour to instruct that nation in good morals, and take care that through yourself, as well as those whom you shall have seen suited for that purpose by their faith, and conversation, and life, the church may be beautified there, and that the religion of the christian faith may be planted and increase, and that all things which relate to the honour of God, and to the salvation of souls, may be ordered in such a manner that you may be worthy to obtain an eternal reward from God, and may be able to secure a glorious name for ever on earth.'

"The tenor of the second bull is this (gained, as it is asserted or assumed by some, whilst by others it is denied that it ever was obtained):—

> "'Alexander,[1] bishop, the servant of the servants of God, to our most dearly beloved son in Christ, the illustrious king of England, health and apostolical benediction.

"'Since those things deserve to be firmly established for ever, which are known as introduced with good reason by our predecessors, We, following the footsteps of the venerable pope, and earnestly anxious for the fruit of our desire, do ratify and confirm the concession of the same about the dominion of the kingdom of Ireland granted to you, saving to the blessed Peter, and to the holy Roman church, as well in England as in Ireland, the annual payment of one penny from each house. So that the filthiness of that land being purged out, a barbarous nation, which is reckoned under the christian name, may, by your indulgence, put on comeliness of

[1] See Ussher's Epist. Hibern. Sylloge, pp. 111, 153.

manners, and the church of those parts, hitherto unformed, being reduced into some proper form, that, for the remainder of time, that nation may through you attain effectually to the title of christian profession.' "

CHAP. XX.—OF THE SYNOD OF CASHEL.[1]

THE reader may also, not without good reason, turn his attention to the synod of Cashel with its constitutions, here transcribed from the before-named book :—

" The island, therefore, being quiet in the presence of the king, and now rejoicing in the tranquillity of peace, the king being inflamed with a greater desire of magnifying the beauty of the church of God, and the worship of Christ in those parts, convoked at Cashel a synod of the whole of the clergy of Ireland. Here the enormities and impurities of that land and nation were sought out and heard publicly; and being carefully reduced into writing also, under the seal of the legate of Lismore, (who in dignity presided over the rest there,) he sent forth very many sacred constitutions, which are yet extant, concerning contracting matrimony, paying tithes, and venerating and frequenting the churches with due devotion, labouring in every possible way to reduce the state of that church to the form of the church in England."[2]

CHAP. XXI.—THE COMMENDATIONS OF KING HENRY THE SECOND, HERE TRANSCRIBED FROM THE END OF THE BOOK ON THE TOPOGRAPHY OF IRELAND.[3]

MOREOVER, also, those things which, in regard to the titles of praise of the same king, are found written in the end of our book on Ireland, ought also, not undeservedly, to be transferred hither; which, indeed, although they may seem to be set forth in somewhat flattering language, considering that they were written to a prince as yet reigning, and powerfully wielding the sceptre, are yet in all points supported by historical truth.

" The Irish nation, from the first time of the arrival and the reign of that first Heremon, even to the times of Gurmund and Turges, (by whom its quiet was disturbed, and its tranquillity was for a short time interrupted), and again, from their deaths, even to our own times, remained free and unshaken by any hostile incursion of foreign nations, until at last, in these our own days, it was subdued by you, O invincible king, and by your intrepid courage, in the forty-first year of your age, the seventeenth of your reign, and in the year one thousand one hundred and seventy-two from the incarnation of our Lord.

" For your victories vie even with the extent of the world itself; since, as the Alexander of the west, you have stretched your power from the Pyrenean mountains of Spain, even to the boundaries of the west, and the extreme boundaries of the northern ocean.

[1] Transcribed from the Hibernia Expugnata, p. 776.
[2] In his treatise last quoted, Giraldus has embodied these Constitutions.
[3] See Topogr. Hiberniæ, pp. 750, 751.

As far, therefore, as nature has extended the earth in these parts, so far have you extended your victories. If the limits of your goings forth should be sought for, the world would fail before the end would be at hand; for space of territory may fail to a brave mind, but victories cannot fail, nor will triumphs be wanting, but materials themselves for triumphing.

"How, therefore, has the land of Ireland added to your titles and triumphs! With how great and laudable valour have you penetrated through the secrets of the ocean and the hidden deposits of nature! How prematurely and unexpectedly, how very quickly and most unfortunately, were you recalled from a glorious undertaking by an intestine conspiracy, the victory, however, being completed, but the country not as yet having been reduced into form! How the western chieftains flew in a body to your empire, immediately and eagerly, as if to a light, astonished by the bright splendour of your coming! How, by depraved and wicked counsel, and most destructive to the whole christian world, did your own children unnaturally and disgracefully defame your victories, both in eastern Asia, and also in Spain, which you had conceived already in your exalted mind, to continue the faith of Christ to the western nations, and nobly to extend it elsewhere! How greatly, as a king and a conqueror, you exercised towards conquered kings and princes, pity and clemency, most worthy of eternal memory, and praiseworthy in a prince and king mortally offended! How, as a truly victorious sovereign, governing your mind by virtue, and overcoming your anger by modesty, you trode upon the necks of the proud and lofty by wonderful valour, and triumphed everywhere over your enemies, calling to your recollection that heroic verse, 'Whoever you are who conquer other things, conquer also your own spirit and your anger;' and deeply revolving in your mind that noble eulogy of Caius Cæsar, 'The whole world had perished, unless pity had put an end to anger;' and other things most worthy of praise!"

CHAP. XXII.—HOW THE KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM WAS NOW AGAIN STRAITENED AND OPPRESSED BY THE POWER OF SALADIN.

BUT let us change the style of the narrative, that we may return for a while to the order of the history, and to the eastern region of Palestine. Whilst these things were being carried on in the western parts of the world, the kingdom of Jerusalem, and the patrimony of the Crucified, began to be straitened and weakened more than formerly, and to be contracted far below the usual limits of the kingdom by the overgrown power of a certain Saladin, a great and magnificent man in his own nation, who rather by profuse liberality and bravery, than by hereditary right of possession, had reduced very many nations under his sway. He had added Babylon and Alexandria, and also the whole of Egypt, to Damascus, ruling with power over the warlike Parthians, and had subdued the noble castle of Jacob's Ford, together with some others on the borders. Moreover, to add to these evils, the race of kings had almost entirely become extinct and exhausted through the sickness and

infirmity of the heirs to the throne, and also the weakness of the female sex; and implacable discord had arisen between our leaders, Guy the king, and the count of Tripoli, who, urged on by his sins, aspired at the kingdom, as can be made evident from the letters of the chief pontiff sent concerning this matter into England, which we have inserted here.

CHAP. XXIII.—THE LETTERS OF URBAN SENT INTO ENGLAND ABOUT THIS MATTER.

"URBAN, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to the venerable brethren, the archbishop of Canterbury, legate of the apostolic see, and to the bishops, and beloved abbots, and other prelates of the churches appointed throughout England, health and apostolical benediction.

"Whilst we consider to how many calamities and oppressions the church of the east has been so constantly exposed, and how the impious nations of the Pagans labour for its extermination with all their powers, our mind is weighed down with the deepest sorrow; since (we speak it with grief) there are few Christians in these parts on this side of the ocean who send succour to that land, whose desolation they ought to dread and oppose with the greatest zeal of christian faith. But although the enemies of the cross of Christ are at all times anxious for the destruction of the land itself, yet now they strive to attack it so much the more violently, because they more openly perceive that its princes, who ought to defend it, are involved in contentions between each other; for our dearest son in Christ, the illustrious king of Jerusalem, and that noble man, the count of Tripoli, have deep enmity one with the other, and may be slain, since they are about to turn their arms against each other, unless the hand of God shall restore peace between them. Moreover, in truth, as it has lately come to our ears by the mournful relation of our beloved son, the master of the house of the knights of the Temple, when himself and R.[1] of good memory, formerly master of the Hospital at Jerusalem, together with some other persons, would have held a conference to restore peace between the aforesaid king and the count, it happened that information is given them that the Turks had entered the christian territories with a strong band; and although they had only one hundred and ten soldiers, yet, inflamed with christian zeal, they fought with six thousand Turks, and, in the end, as it pleased the Lord, the aforesaid master of the Hospital, and brother Robert Frenellus, the marshal of the Temple, and brother Jaqueline, with fifty soldiers and ten servants of the Temple, besides others, yielded up their souls to the Lord; and also some were led away alive, being taken captive by the Turks, which, in truth, we have heard with great bitterness of heart: wherefore, since the aforesaid master of the Temple, besides the loss of his soldiers, states that he has endured most heavy losses of horses and of arms in this conflict, and that the wicked race of the infidels, according to their iniquitous purpose, will be inflamed more violently than usual

[1] Roger de Molins.

to attack the before-named land: We, to whom it pertains principally and especially to be most anxious for the preservation of that land, wishing to make men more prompt in its defence, admonish you, brother, and command and enjoin, that, as far as may be, by frequent admonitions and exhortations, you persuade the princes and barons, and others of the faithful, and enjoin them for the remission of their sins, that, for the sake of God and their own salvation, they succour the aforesaid christian land with a powerful force, and that in pity they delay not to assist their brethren of the soldiers of the Temple with horses and arms, by which they may the better defend that land; and show such an interest in these matters, that it may be approved by the effectual success of your work. May the people committed to us, by the prayers which they shall offer for the aforesaid land and for their brethren, and may you, by the word of our exhortation, be able to obtain an eternal reward!

"Dated at Verona on the 3d of the nones of September" [8th Sept. 1184].

CHAP. XXIV.—HOW THE PATRIARCH OF JERUSALEM WAS SENT OVER INTO ENGLAND, TO ASSIST KING HENRY.[1]

THE chief persons and nobles of the kingdom, the brethren of the knights of the Temple and the Hospital, seeing how great dangers were hanging over them, by their unanimous vote as well as decree, sent over their patriarch, Heraclius, on account of king Henry the second, granting to him, what he had before longed for, both the entire dominion of the kingdom and the subjection of all the castles and towns, whether from the Temple or from any other source: for the fame of his name was long before dreaded amongst the Gentiles for his incomparable activity, and he himself was originally descended from the royal family of that land, which Anjou produced. All things necessary for so great a journey being prepared, bending his course from Eastern Asia to the extreme boundaries of Europe, by a twofold passage of the sea, the patriarch, not without great toil and danger, at length arrived in England, about the first of February,—a place, indeed, beyond the ordinary world, the most remote corner of the western ocean. He proceeded forthwith to the king, to the city of Winchester, and presented to him the keys of the holy city, and of the holy sepulchre of the Lord, together with the royal banner and standard of war, on behalf of the chief persons of the land of Palestine, not only of the brethren of the Temple and of the Hospital, but also of all the nobles of the country; and also, by the unanimous vote and acclamation of the whole clergy and people, he offered him the dominion and subjection of the kingdom, together with the castles which he had before desired: and, falling down on his knees before the king, he humbly bemoaned his lot, and, with tears, entreated that in pity he would be moved to the succour of the Holy Land, now grievously afflicted by the enemies of the faith, since it was the especial patrimony of Jesus Christ. Otherwise,

[1] See the Hibernia Expugnata, p. 800.

he asserted, (which came to pass two years afterwards,) and solemnly declared, as with a mind almost prophetic of the evils, that the whole kingdom would in a short time pass over into the sacrilegious hands of the Saracens, and of Saladin, then prince both of the Egyptians and Damascenes; also, he presented to the king the letters of the nobles of that kingdom, impressed with their own seals, testifying to all that he had said, and submitting themselves, together with the whole of their kingdom, entirely to his dominion.

In addition to these, the nuncios of the pope then brought letters of the chief pontiff, Lucius, who then presided over the apostolic see, persuading him to undertake this work, (oh, that they had been sufficiently persuasive!) and containing a command, accompanied by a threat, that he was in reality bound to do this, on account of the obligations long before entered into on this point, and of the promises confirmed upon oath before the legates and the cardinals of the Roman church. The letters were to this effect.

CHAP. XXV.—THE LETTERS OF POPE LUCIUS, BOTH ADMONITORY AS WELL AS THREATENING, AT THAT TIME SENT TO KING HENRY.

"LUCIUS,[1] the bishop, servant of the servants of God . . . . . ."

These things being thus accomplished, the king received the patriarch, as was fit, with great honour, and with that accustomed urbanity towards foreign ambassadors in which he excelled above all others; and he intentionally delayed his answer until he reached London, the capital of his kingdom, because he had ordered a great council of the whole realm to be convoked there.

"Oh,[2] how great is the glory both of the king and of the kingdom, when, omitting and passing by emperors, as well as all the kings and princes of the earth, (as though in the midst of the world there had been no place for this remedy,) recourse is had, for the aid so much required, to this last corner of the globe, and as though to another world concealed in some recesses of the ocean!

"Oh, how great and how incomparable had been the glory of that king in the earth, not earthly only, but eternal, if, laying aside all business, and leaving his kingdom and all things, as a disciple of Christ, he should have followed so powerful a call of Christ, renouncing all delay, and taking up this cross for His sake! from whom he received the sceptre of the kingdom; and, which is greater than a kingdom, he received such glorious grace of governing the kingdom entrusted to him on earth; preserving to him, amidst this gloom of necessity, the rights of his earthly kingdom, that he should from this receive a heavenly kingdom. Oh, that in this gloom of necessity he would, with his utmost care, defend the earthly patrimony of so great a king, since worthily fortified by so great a patron and protector, his own kingdom would be rendered safe in the hour of his greatest need!"

[1] Already printed in William of Newburgh, III. xii. (Hist. iv. 529.)
[2] Copied by Giraldus from his Hibernia Expugnata, p. 800.

CHAP. XXVI.—OF THE WORDS AND ADMONITIONS OF HIM WHO WROTE THESE THINGS, SPOKEN TO KING HENRY ON THIS OCCURRENCE, AND OF HIS REPLIES.

IN the meantime, while the king was indulging in hunting in the woods, in which pursuit he had been accustomed to delight too frequently, and when he could rouse up the wild animals in the forest of Clarendun, (that is, the Bright Hill,) his son-in-law, Henry, duke of Saxony, then by chance being there with him, it happened that he who wrote these things addressed the king in the audience of many, in some such words as these, upon the coming of the patriarch:—

"We have seen, O king, the coming of many illustrious men into England in our own time, and even more in number than usual; but we consider the coming of the patriarch a greater honour than all, and not only so, but the greatest honour to the whole of your kingdom; both because so great a man has come hither from such remote parts, and also because, passing by emperors and all the other princes of the earth, it has brought so great and honourable an ambassador to yourself and to your land." The king replied, as if in mockery, before so great an audience, neither receiving the word spoken kindly nor with good will: "If the patriarch, or others, come to us, they rather seek their own advantage here than ours." But the former speaker replied, perhaps with English boldness, "O king, you ought to esteem this of the greatest advantage and honour to yourself, that you alone have been chosen before all the kings of the earth for so great an act of obedience to Christ!" But the king, as if turning from a serious to a jocular manner, said: "Truly, the clergy are able boldly to provoke us to arms and dangers, since they themselves will receive no blows in the conflict, nor will they undergo any things burthensome which they can avoid."

But when these words were heard, immediately I fell from my whole hope, which before I had indulged, great as it was, with earnest desire; for I had hoped that he would deliver Israel in our day; and I call the Lord to witness that I had desired that thing with great earnestness, as well on account of the retention of the Holy Land, and the deliverance of it from the hands of the infidels, as on account of the honour of our own kingdom and nation. That same thing, also, the whole English people desired with the utmost earnestness.

CHAP. XXVII.—OF THE ANSWER GIVEN TO THE PATRIARCH AT LONDON, AND HOW HIS WHOLE LABOUR WAS IN VAIN.

BUT on the appointed day, many at London, as well of the military as of the plebeian order, being signed[1] to the obedience of Christ, through the admonitions of the patriarch, and also through the public discourses of him and of that venerable and holy man Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, which were delivered in a persuasive manner to the people, the patriarch at length received the reply of the king: "That it was not safe, in the present state of affairs, for him to forsake his kingdom without protection or government,

[1] That is, having assumed the Cross.

and to leave his territories beyond the sea to the rapacity of the French, by whom he was bitterly hated. Moreover, both in regard to that money which he had long ago sent over to those parts to be kept for his own use, as well as other things which should forthwith be given up to him, these he would liberally give for the protection of the Holy Land."

To whom the patriarch replied:—"If, O king, you resolve to abide by this intention, you do nothing; for in this way you will neither save yourself, nor will you preserve the patrimony of Christ. For we come to seek the prince, not his money; almost any part of the world will send us money, but nowhere have we a prince; therefore we seek the man even without the money, and not the money without the man." But since the patriarch was able to extract no other reply from the king, he betook himself, at last, to another resource; and entreated him to give them one of his sons, as a prince, to help them; and, if no other, at least John, who was the younger, that the royal seed descending from the stock of Anjou, the germ being revived, might be raised up for them from this branch. But John himself, although he was then to be sent with a large expedition over to Ireland, which had been given to him by his father, fell down at the feet of his father, and, (as is reported,) with a praiseworthy earnestness, entreated that he might rather be sent to Jerusalem; but he could not prevail with his father. Oh, incorrigible and stiff-necked man! oh, mind obstinately bent upon evil, and pertinaciously inflexible! oh, deserted of that God whom you thus forsake! and deprived of His grace whom you repay with ingratitude! and that I may address you, oh king, in words of authority,[1] Have you, miserable, "made a covenant with death, and with hell are at agreement?" Delay not, I beseech you, to turn to the Lord, and put not off the work from day to day, for suddenly His anger shall destroy you in the time of vengeance. Know you not, I say, that the day of the Lord shall come as a thief, in which every one shall receive according to his works? Do you not feel that day of tremendous judgment, in which even the angels shall tremble, as one to be feared and dreaded, when, before the tribunal of the Judge to whom all things are naked and open, you shall be presented in these words, "Behold the man, and his works with him?" Or are you ignorant of it, or pretend not to know, that the mighty shall be mightily tormented, and that for the powerful there is greater agony? The Lord will not regard the person of any one; "for a king shall not be saved by a multitude, and a mighty man shall not be preserved by the greatness of his valour."[2]

CHAP. XXVIII.—OF THE ADMONITIONS AND THREATENINGS OF THE PATRIARCH AGAINST KING HENRY, THRICE UTTERED, AS IF BY A PROPHETIC SPIRIT.

THE[3] patriarch, therefore, seeing that he could effect nothing, nor prevail in extracting honey from the rock, or oil from the hardest stone, spake these words to the king in the hearing of many, in an

[1] See Isa. xxviii. 15. [2] See Psal. xxxii. 16. Vulg.
[3] See Hibernia Expugnata, p. 800.

admonitory as well as in a prophetical spirit:—"Hitherto, O glorious king, you have reigned with incomparable grace amongst the princes of the world, and your honour has even now increased more and more to the utmost height of royal eminence: but, without a doubt, being reserved for that experience in which you are deficient; and for this reason being left by the Lord, whom you forsake, and being utterly deprived of His grace for the remainder of your life, even to your latest breath, your glory shall be turned into sorrow, and your honour into ignominy!"

But at Dover, when now he was preparing and hastening to depart again to his own country, and was only waiting for the favour of a prosperous wind for sailing, with a view of relieving his mind of a load, and of delivering his own soul by recapitulating, from memory, before a few persons and in private, he placed before the king (who had personally conducted him as far as that place with honour, because, in truth, he had given his attention to appease the offence he had offered to the patriarch by flattery, as his custom was, and by the service of honour shown to him) the benefits conferred on him by the Lord, and also the return which he had made to the Lord for them; how God had peacefully restored his kingdom to him, in a short space of time, against so many and powerful enemies, who had detained it from him, and had extended his power far and wide; how he had greatly increased his honour and glory, constantly giving success and victory to his arms; and how, on the other hand, he had never faithfully kept his word to his liege lord, king Louis; from which cause he had not only taken away from him very much of his territory, by so often harassing him with unjust wars, through which had come so much slaughter and fire, but also, as if to bring his injurious conduct to a climax, he had unjustly taken away Louis's wife Eleanor, and from this union had begotten heirs to his kingdom, as if to prove the saying, "that which had been scandalously acquired has no good issue." Moreover, concerning the murder of St. Thomas, which he perpetrated, as it were, by his own hand, inasmuch as he sent his executioners to commit it; and concerning this last so great honour, after so many benefits, that he had refused to obey the command of the Lord. But when, at this last speech, the king, as was his custom, looked at him with eyes fiercely enraged, he offered his head to him, and stretched forth his neck to him, saying: "Do to me as you did to the blessed Thomas; for I am quite as willing that my head should be cut off by you in England, as by the Saracens in Palestine; for, beyond a doubt, you are worse than any Saracen." The king answered, with an oath: "That if all the subjects of my kingdom could be collected into one body, and could speak with one mouth, they would not dare to propose these things to me." To whom the patriarch replied: "Do you think that they therefore love you, who care for your riches, and not for your works? that multitude follows booty, not the leader; they have a reverence, indeed, for the power, but not for the person who wields it." Then the king said to him: "That he could not then depart and begin that journey, on account of his sons,

who, in his absence, would immediately raise an insurrection, and seize upon his territories." The patriarch replied: "And what wonder? for they came of the devil, and they will go to the devil." And then he again placed before him all which had been said concerning his honour, as yet increased to the highest pitch, but soon to decrease day by day, and to last but for a short time. This prophetical threatening the holy man thrice uttered forth to the king; omitting none of the things which should happen, first at London, as we have said, afterwards at Dover, but the third time at Chinon, which was beyond the sea. And on that, after the example of the king of Nineveh, this king should have rendered void the sentence by penitence, or should have caused it to be changed. Moreover, would that the patriarch had been a man not having the Holy Spirit, and had rather spoken falsely, or, better still, that penitence had followed this threatening sentence rather than hopeless despair!

But that, for the greater clearness, we may in a summary manner anticipate, in a few words, what we shall follow out more at length presently; as it was denounced by the herald of truth, so we see it, in a short time afterwards, completed by God's providence. For, when he had almost completed thirty-five years of his reign, thirty of which were given to him for worldly glory, for a patient waiting for his conversion, for a trial of his devotion to God; but the next five were yielded up to vengeance, to sorrow, and to ignominy, as in the case of an ungrateful servant, and of one altogether cast-away and reprobate. For in the second[1] year of the seventh lustrum, immediately upon the very coming of so great a herald, since the heart will be lifted up before ruin, his first attempt, which he had pushed forward with so much diligence, that concerning his son John, who was sent into Ireland, came to nothing, and never arrived at perfection, his labour and money being equally lost, to the disorder of both parties; in the third year, he who had never before this time lost his territories, but by his power had always added to his sway, lost nearly the whole of Auvergne, when Philip, king of France, although as yet but of tender years, had taken up arms against him, and endeavoured to repair the loss of his patrimony; in the fourth, he lost the castle of Ralph de Dole, and nearly the whole of Berri; but in the fifth year of the seventh lustrum, and the fourth from the coming of the patriarch, he lost the cities of Le Mans and Tours, together with many castles; and, at the last, he lost himself, according to that saying of the Psalmist:[2] "Because raising me up, Thou hast dashed me to pieces by the face of thine anger and of thine indignation;" and again, [3] "Thou hast cast them down, when they were raised up on high;" and, according to that saying of Gregory, "Those whom God long bears with, that they may be converted, He more severely condemns, if they continue impenitent."

[1] A.D. 1185. [2] Psal. ci. 11. Vulg. [3] Id. lxxii. 18.

CHAP. XXIX.—A DESCRIPTION OF THE PERSON OF HENRY THE SECOND.

BUT, for the fuller explanation of all things, the reader will find inserted here a description of this man, which we have placed in our book,[1] prophetically written, of the invasion of Ireland, together with another chapter concerning the persons who had come into England, and of the events which happened; which description we have presented to the king, together with the book, more as involving our own danger than his profit, inasmuch as he is yet alive: and, indeed, as the manner of history is, we have not concealed the discords of his reign, but have spoken according to the rule of truth. At the same time, restraining our expressions, we have moderated our account with words of extenuation. But we have not considered it an unworthy undertaking to represent, for posterity, the express nature of the king, and the quality both of his internal as well as of his external man; that they who may delight in hearing his renowned exploits, may have his very countenance in imagination before their eyes. For, having obtained pardon for unfolding the truth, (devoid of which all history would not only lose its authority, but the very name of history,) the present narrative does not permit so great a glory of our own time to perish in a transitory way. For, in truth, professing that nature is represented by his art, the painter uses his authority if, whilst he brings out more prominently the pleasing points of the picture, he passes over, through timidity, those which are less agreeable; for which reason, also, since no person is born without faults, and he is the best who is burdened with the fewest in number, a wise man may think of nothing human as alien from himself: for always in worldly affairs, since there is no perfect happiness under heaven, the evil and the good are nearly allied, and vices clearly distinguished from virtues. As, therefore, the good qualities, whether of nature or of industry, delight a well-regulated mind when they are heard, so the contrary qualities will not give offence when they are recited. But since, according to that philosophical saying, "It is a duty rather to secure the goodwill of power by kind offices, than to exasperate it by words," and that adage of the comic poet, "Obsequiousness gains friends, but truth makes enemies;" it is, in truth, a dangerous thing to allege aught against him who is able to banish you, be the occasion great as it may; and I have taken to myself a work difficult, and full of danger rather than of profit, to describe him in many words who is able to proscribe me by one. For it would be a pleasing office, and, indeed, one far exceeding our powers, not to suppress the truth in each instance, and yet in no one case to exasperate the mind of the prince.

Henry the second, king of England, was a man, then, having hair somewhat red, grey eyes, and an ample and round head; his bluish eyes were fierce, and suffused with redness when in a passion; his face fiery, his voice broken, his neck in a slight degree depressed from his shoulders, his breast square, his arms strong; his body fleshy, rather by nature than by indulgence of appetite; his belly

[1] Hibernia Expugnata, lib. I. ch. xlv. p. 782.

was large, and yet there was no unusual rotundity, no laziness whatever; and he was moderate even in his excesses: for he was sparing and sober both in meat and drink, and addicted to parsimony as far as was practicable in a prince; and that he might repress and mitigate this misfortune of nature by industry, and might alleviate the sins of the flesh by the vigour of his mind, he was accustomed to torment his body by immoderately harassing it by waging against it a more than intestine war—conspiring, as it were, against himself. For, besides the times of wars which pressed upon him, what remained when these matters were accomplished, that little space even he scarcely gave to rest. In time of peace he never indulged himself in any peace or quiet; for, being immoderately given to hunting, he mounted his swift horse at break of dawn, and passed the day in a state of restless activity; at one time wandering through the groves, at another penetrating into the woods, and at another traversing the tops of the mountains; and when he arrived at home in the evening, you would scarcely ever see him sitting down, either before supper or after; for, after so great fatigue, it was his habit to weary the whole court by standing continually. But since this maxim is especially useful in life, "that there should be no extremes in things, and that no remedy is good if it occasions a frequent swelling of the feet and ankles," (for the injury is increased if the beasts of burden kick against you,) he hastened on his old age to his other bodily inconveniences, which itself may be called a second nurse and minister of many evils.[1]

Chap. XXX.—Of the most notable Events of our Time in England.[2]

We have, therefore, not considered it a work unworthy of the subject, from time to time to insert an account of the coming of extraordinary persons into England, during our own day, and of events worthy of memory, and to publish them, as it were, in the form of an epilogue to our history. Accordingly, in the first instance, an unexpected death happened to those who held the kingdom of England against Henry, the lawful heir, the grandson of king Henry by his daughter Matilda; and first, the sudden death of the renowned soldier, Eustace, the son of king Stephen, the son-in-law, or the sister's husband, of Louis, king of the French, as well as of his mother, Matilda, the queen and countess of Boulogne. Afterwards a friendly agreement, as to the disposal of the kingdom, was made between Stephen, king of England, and Henry, duke of Normandy. Immediately, then, took place the elevation of this glorious duke to the throne, and the coronation of Henry the second; the siege of the noble castle of Bridgenorth, on the river Severn; and the compulsory surrender of that renowned soldier, Hugh de Mortimer, an example terrible to all. What further shall I say of the other occurrences of his reign? By fortunate events,

[1] The description of the king here ends in the present treatise; but Giraldus has extended it beyond this point in his Hibernia Expugnata.

[2] Repeated in the Hibernia Expugnata, p. 803.

everywhere the detainers of his kingdom, as well as all the disturbers of his peace, in the first instance his brothers, and afterwards his sons, were suddenly overthrown, to remove all difficulties out of his way, and to confound the powers which arose against him. The subjection of prince Owen, in Venedocia,[1] not without experiencing the uncertain fortune of war, and the loss of many soldiers near Colleshylle, (that is, the hill of coal,) in a densely wooded place. That costly, although useless, yet noble expedition to Toulouse. The frequent disputes in war between Louis, king of the French, and Henry, prince of England, with various deliberations of both parties. Prince Rhys surrendered at Pencadeir, (or the head of the chair,) by the intervention of his uncle, Owen: then was heard the thunder of war in Wales. The unwilling and extorted concession at Clarendon of the constitutions which they call ancient, by the word and writing of Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, and his suffragan bishops; by which was then fulfilled that prophecy of Sylvester Merlin, "And the tongues of the bulls shall be cut off." The infamous outcry of the whole court at Northampton, against the father, the bearer of the cross, and the defender of the rights of Christ, and his clandestine departure the same night into banishment. The mission of Reginald, archbishop of Cologne, and the imperial chancellor, from the emperor Frederick to the king of England, who was an earnest mover and persuader of a contract of marriage between Henry, the nephew of the emperor, duke of Saxony and Bavaria, and Matilda, the eldest daughter of the king. Also, he became the unsuccessful inciter of the schism by which the German church was then involved. However, not long after, by a royal edict against the chair of St. Peter, and the prelate of Canterbury, a public perjury was committed throughout the kingdom. Nor was there delay in regard to the marriage; the ambassadors of the duke for the count Guncelin, and other very powerful men of Saxony, came over into England on account of the king's daughter. The coronation of Henry the third, the son of Henry, to the prejudice of the church of Canterbury, was celebrated at London by Roger, archbishop of York. Ambassadors came from Spain, earnestly asking and entreating that Eleanor, the king's daughter, might be given in lawful wedlock to Alphonso, king of Toledo and Castile. The visit to the king of England, paid by Dermot, prince of Leinster, who had been driven into exile; and the passing over into Ireland, first of Fitz-Stephen,[2] and subsequently of earl Richard [de Clare]. The noble expedition to the White Monastery[3] at Powisland, and the safe return of the same, not without the mortal dismemberment of the hostages, and the interruption of many enemies, as an overflowing inundation of rain had occurred. The martyrdom of St. Thomas, and the frequent shining forth of miracles. The departure, by a happy death, at Winchester, of Henry, bishop of that see, of the royal family, a

[1] South Wales; see Camd. Brit. pp. 777, 778.

[2] Robert, surnamed Fitz-Stephen, constable of Cardigan; see Hibernia Expugnata, p. 761.

[3] The Cistercian abbey of Alba Landa, in Carmarthenshire; see Tanner, Notit. Monast. p. 701.

most illustrious man both for genius and acquirements, and also endued with nobility of mind as well as of ancestry. The journey of the king into Ireland. The conspiracy of the nobility against their prince, as well as of the sons against their parent. The coming of the two cardinals into Normandy, to make a searching inquiry into the death of the martyr. The sudden return of the king from Ireland into Wales: his flying across from Wales into Loegria,[1] and from Loegria into Normandy; and the sudden reconciliation both of the cardinals and of the French king. The first departure from his father of the younger king, together with his two brothers into France. The unheard-of and unexpected victory of the king over his enemies in that war, worse than civil, for two years; and also his clemency towards the conquered, as we have declared, with clearness and brevity, in the end of the former[2] book, before the description of the king, concerning the capture of the earls of Chester and Leicester, and of the king of Scotland. The legation of Hugutio Peter Leonis, cardinal of Saint Angelo, sent over into England, under whom a council of the whole English clergy was summoned at London, on account of the contention between the archbishops which arose at this time, that is to say, between Richard of Canterbury and Roger of York, concerning the dignity of the primacy and the priority of their sees, and which was rendered useless, for each side maintained his own right by fists, and sticks, and clubs. The ambassadors[3] of William, king of Sicily, (the bishop of Capua, and Diaferus, the bishop elect of Troia, and also the count Florio,) came to England, on account of the union of Joan, the king's youngest daughter, with their prince. The ambassadors of the kings of Spain, Castile, and Navarre came into England, who had mutually agreed to abide by the final arbitration of the king of England, concerning certain lands and castles about which a fierce contention had arisen between them. For which reason, also, having assembled together, in the city of London, the skilful and wise men in the kingdom of the whole law, ecclesiastical and civil, (for the merits of each cause is opened by the declaration of the parties,) the allegations of each were heard on either side by the very best advocates and patrons of the respective cause; of whom, however, one amongst the rest was most famous, Peter of Cardona, who had come on the part of the king of Navarre, and one who was most powerful in his wonderful eloquence; whereupon the king, relying upon wise counsel, resolved to walk by a middle course, and was careful to take away any strife in the transaction; so that something being given up, and something being retained, neither party might be injured by any very great loss, but, as he was a judge selected by both sides, so, if it were possible, that each might be indemnified. Therefore, the transaction being carefully reduced to writing, by way of caution, the king caused a judicial copy to be copied out, that if either party should refuse to abide by the transaction, the dispute

[1] See Camb. Descriptio, p. 886.
[2] A reference to the Hibernia Expugnata, book I, ch. xliv. p. 782.
[3] See Hoveden, ad. an. 1176, fol. 315, ed. Saville.

might at last be settled by a definitive sentence. The coming of Louis, king of the French, into England, who came from abroad, to Canterbury, devoutly to ask the prayers, in death, of the same illustrious martyr whom, in life, he had supported by his assistance in the time of his exile; and, having offered[1] a golden goblet (not the meanest either for the excellence of its art or material) in the place where the holy body had been honourably buried, when he had prostrated himself at the tomb of the martyr for some time, and had for a long while laid his head, fitted for a crown, in the right opening of the marble stone on the side, at length, rising up from prayer, that he might give strength to the memory of his coming thither by perpetual bounty, in the presence of Henry, king of England, and Philip, earl of Flanders, and also of the archbishop of the place, and of the prior of the convent, together with other great men, he gave a hundred measures of wine to the convent of Canterbury. The second departure of king Henry the third and count Geoffrey, and the sudden death of the younger king at Martel. The arrival of Godfrey, archbishop of Cologne, together with Philip, count of Flanders, who came from abroad to Canterbury. The death of count Geoffrey. The coming of the patriarch, Heraclius, and the first passage over the sea into Ireland of John, the king's son. All these events, as they are here arranged in order, so, with no long intervals of time between them, they happened in our own days, in the space of about thirty-three years.

Oh, would that I could have recorded that all these things had succeeded happily! That he had played out the play of this temporal life to a happy conclusion, and by a double or rather manifold grace of divine favour, had been able to pass from so great earthly to heavenly glory, for whose glory almost all these things had happened, and whom fortune, if there is such a thing, by favouring him in each, had luckily advanced him at so many critical times in his life! But I am persuaded that this might very easily have been done, if, by instant obedience, and without falling back again, he would have proved himself prompt and devoted to that call of Christ, (who, as it were, sought to be repaid on earth for the great gifts of His grace which He had bestowed on earth,) and[2] if he who through six lustrums had reigned gloriously to the world, had dedicated to God the seventh, at least that small portion of time, or if more had been granted him,—he would have reigned to Christ, and would have fought with success to the praise and glory of the whole of Christianity, both temporally and eternally. For the royal affairs thus far increased continually to the pinnacle of renown; but, from this time, relapsing by degrees by a variable fortune, they were exposed to many losses and reverses, which they had not hitherto experienced.

For every prudent man observes that the favour of fortune is unstable and altogether changeable; an experience from which very

[1] See Robert de Monte, pp. 794, 795, (Ch. Hist. vol. iv.)

[2] This sentence, as far as the word "carnal," is supplied from the Hibernia Expugnata, p. 805.

few persons who have arrived at manhood, and scarcely any who have lived long, have escaped.[1]

Having then not unsuitably or uselessly inserted these matters, let us return to the history of those events the progress of which we have occasionally anticipated, that the whole and final course of the life of Henry the second may be gone through. In the first place, then, after the departure of the patriarch, the mission of John into Ireland, as we have said, had an ignominious issue, as is manifestly declared in the History of the Invasion of Ireland.[2] Nor can it be wondered at, in the case of one who, at so powerful a call of Christ and in the absence of so great a herald, seeking the things of the world and not those of Jesus Christ, sent his son under unfortunate auspices towards the west and against Christians, whom, at least instead of himself, he ought to have sent towards the east and against the Saracens. Alas, for the shame and grief! if he had destined such a warlike armament for the patrimony of Christ, and the assistance of Christianity, before that which he then sent, without advantage, against the miserable and faithful, the Holy Land would not now be profaned by filthy dogs, and the abominations of the pagans, but without doubt would have been retained in its unimpaired condition. But that those events may more clearly appear which in the three following years so completely accomplished the ruin of so great a man, for the satisfying of divine vengeance, and for an awful example to all, it is necessary that we go back to circumstances somewhat earlier in the order of time, finishing here the second, and commencing the third, division of our subject.

THE END OF THE SECOND DIVISION.

HERE BEGINS THE PREFACE TO THE THIRD DIVISION OF THE WORK.

HITHERTO we have shown how that it was not his own merit, but divine mercy, which raised this king to the summit of the wheel of fortune; not the virtue of the man, or the worthiness of his life, but rather grace and heavenly patience waiting longer for his conversion. But now the present pages will unfold how he descended to the bottom of the wheel, and at the last, by his obstinate wickedness, met an ignominious death. From what has gone before, therefore, the human mind may be refreshed, and may hope, as long as there can be any prospect of his conversion and amendment; but here it will have an example at which final impiety may fear and tremble; an example, I say, from which reprobate obstinacy may dread a similar fall and ruin.

[1] Giraldus here illustrates this reflection by the examples of Pompey, Julius Cæsar, and Alexander.

[2] See Hibernia Expugnata, book II. ch. xxxi. p. 805.

The Third Division of the Work here begins, concerning the Successes and Glory of a certain Prince of our own Time.

Chap. I.—Of the last Conference between the Kings Louis and Henry, and how King Louis appealed from it to the Lord, even with Tears.

Therefore, after many differences between himself and the king of England, arising from various causes, and sometimes even deep hatred springing from these disagreements, and most destructive wars on both sides, in the last conference which was held between them, in the presence of William, archbishop of Rheims, and his two brothers, count Theobald and Philip, earl of Flanders; Louis, the king of France, at length, worn out with age and sickness, addressed the king of England in these words: "In many things, O king, from the beginning of your reign, and even before that time, you have despised the regard for fidelity and homage due to me; but, that I may be silent in regard to other things, you have deeply injured me, by reason of territories occupied by you, contrary to justice and equity; beyond all other injuries, that concerning Auvergne is by far the greatest and most manifest, a district which, contrary to all justice, you so insolently presume to detain from the crown of France. But since, on account of the rapid advance of age, I am not able to recover this land or others by force of arms, nevertheless I do not retract the dispute or the cause of it. Yea, rather, I openly protest in favour of the rights of the crown, before God and these barons of the kingdom and my faithful adherents, under which title I include, in the first place, Auvergne, Berry with the Châteauroux, and Gisors, together with Norman Vexin; supplicating the King of kings, who has given me an heir, that inasmuch as for my sins He has not permitted me to recover the rights of my crown, He would, at least, grant that boon to my heir. Therefore, for the time to come, I commit the cause of my kingdom to God and my heir, and to the barons of my crown;" and so, returning to his own people, he ended the conference with tears.

But the sad prayer and just imprecation of this good man so found acceptance with God, that it was granted to his son to reclaim his dispersed dominions, not only against the king of England, but also all the nobles of the kingdom; and, as if by divine vengeance, even in his tender years, to break the pride, and with his power to tread upon the necks of those haughty ones who had with too much insolence abused the simplicity of his father; which also, as a comfort of his age, and as equally the effect of his sad complaint and prayer, God declared to this good man and most christian king, Louis, a short time before his death, by a vision in sleep, after the following manner. He seemed to see the king of England and all the barons of the kingdom of France assembled together in his presence, and Philip, his heir, advancing into the midst, and drinking a health in human blood, out of a golden cup, to all the barons in succession who were detaining from him the rights of his crown; beginning with those of Blois, on his mother's side, namely, his uncles and the duke of Burgundy, and

also his mother, the sister of those of Blois; and so, consequently, passing on by Philip, earl of Flanders; and, at last, offering the cup even to Henry, king of England. A wonderful vision, indeed, since, when his father died soon afterwards, he separately invaded their dominions, in the same order in which he was seen to have pledged them in that blood; and though of tender age, he so courageously recovered the rights of his crown against so many and such powerful opponents, like an avenging son granted from the Lord, against those who had so shamelessly and so faithlessly abused the pious lenity and clemency of his father.

CHAP. II.—OF THE RECLAIMING OF THE LANDS BY PHILIP, THE SON OF LOUIS, ACCORDING TO THE PRAYER OF HIS FATHER; AND THAT VISION WHICH HE BEFORE SAW ABOUT THEM, BOTH AS FAR AS REGARDS THOSE OF BLOIS, AND PHILIP, EARL OF FLANDERS, AS WELL AS KING HENRY.

IN the first place, therefore, after the death of his father, relying principally on the assistance of Philip, earl of Flanders, whose niece, by his sister's side [Isabella], the daughter of the earl of Hainault, he had married during his father's lifetime, and at his instigation, he attacked with arms his own uncles, and the queen mother, the duke of Burgundy, his relation, and the whole of that branch of the family of Blois who, for long before, had been hostile to and deeply hated by the people of Flanders. More especially, he took away very many castles from his kinsman, Alexander, duke of Burgundy; the whole of her dowry and marriage gift from his mother, queen Adela; the office of seneschal of the whole of France from count Theobald; and he deprived others of their fortified places and ample lands.

But when count Philip had resumed into his own hands the office of seneschal of France, which belonged to him in right of his wife, (who was sprung from the Virmandois,) and which he had granted to count Theobald to hold as his deputy by right, being seneschal himself, he even possessed more power than the king himself did; for according to his will all things, for some time past, had been conducted by the king. Moreover, since the heart is usually puffed up before a ruinous fall, the countess of Flanders, the daughter of Ralph, count of Peronne, through whom he had, as her husband, added the Virmandois to the country of Flanders, and at a distance had extended his power into France, died by a sudden and unexpected chance, and even without leaving him the consolation of an heir. When the uncles of the king and the family of Blois heard this, seizing it as a fit opportunity for retaliation and revenge, they went to the king, alleging their own right to the Virmandois, the heirs being extinct, and persuaded him that, relying on the assistance of Henry, king of England, he should claim again from the unjust detainers of it so great an honour which devolved into his hands by right, and that he should add it to his dominion and to the royal table. But the king, though a youth in years, yet being more mature in mind and counsel, and especially assisted by divine grace, not despising the

advice in regard to his honour and profit, adopted the king of England, as if instead of a father, and entirely submitted himself in this matter to his counsel. Wherefore, at his desire, he fully restored again the office of seneschal to count Theobald, in the first place, and also her dowry to the queen his mother. Royal ambassadors were sent to declare the king's right to the Virmandois, for want of heirs; and they ordered the count to surrender the county, with all the castles and municipal places, or point out to him the contemptuous hostility of the king, if he should refuse to do this; but the following reply was given them by the count, who was full of pride and indignation: that not only on the part of his countess had the right in that territory accrued to him, but, moreover, to his own father, count Terric, it had been given up long ago, by the father of the countess, for a very large sum of money mutually paid and received, and a pledge had been given to that effect; and, therefore, he could not relinquish this land to him, unless the money were first restored together with interest, the amount of which he fixed at an immense and arbitrary sum.

But the count, passing over none of these contingencies which might happen, (though he should lose his territory,) sent ambassadors with letters from him to his relative Henry, the king of England, entreating, admonishing, and supplicating him that, as he was related to him by blood, he would not disregard him in this his need. He also offered him his oath, and every security, and good hostages, that for the time to come he would be faithful to him in everything which he did against this same king; at the same time persuading him, in many words, after this manner, but not urging upon him that, because that family never had any affection for each other, the nearer they were in blood so much the worse they always show themselves in the hour of necessity. So large armies were assembled on both sides of the city of Amiens, and the younger king of England being sent over by his father with a large and powerful band of soldiers, at length peace was restored, without any battle having been fought; the nobles of Flanders refusing to engage against the king of France, on account of their fidelity to him, and the bond of obedience which they had given him: and, as a terrible example to all the nobles of France, the count was humbled, and was deprived of the county of the Virmandois.

But, in the year following that in which peace had been restored and confirmed between the king and the count of Flanders, the whole kingdom of France being brought under the will of the king of France, and by good fortune reduced under his power, excepting the lands of the king of England,—at the suggestion of Philip, count of Flanders, infected with the poison of a revengeful mind, the French king resolved to take up arms against the king of England, and manfully reclaim Auvergne. For the father, when he was at the point of death, had commanded his son, with all his power, to recover the rights of his royal crown; and especially, as he wished to have his blessing, that he would restore Auvergne entire to the royal treasury, about which there had been the greatest and most open injustice. Therefore, having collected great forces on both sides,

they engaged in battle in the district of Auvergne. On the one side, the troops were fewer in number, but better, because they were better armed and trained; on the other, there was a great multitude, but in disorder, and with their hearts not devoted to the contest. The king of France daily took possession of the lands of those in Auvergne who did not rebel against him, and exterminated by slaughter such as endeavoured to resist him, even in the very presence of the opposite party. But king Henry, betaking himself to his usual subtlety, solicited the barons of France, and especially the count of Flanders, to come to terms, by his usual bribes beforehand and promises, but with no effect; for the count Philip bitterly upbraided him, not unmindful of the injury deeply treasured in his mind, because through him the king of France had, a little time before, taken away from him the county of the Virmandois; although he had solicited him, but in vain, to enter into a treaty, offensive and defensive, for their mutual protection, a thing which might very easily have been carried out to the advantage of both parties.

But some of the barons altogether refused the bribes offered to them, on account of the faith due to the king and the kingdom; whilst others declined from a fear lest it should come to the knowledge of the king, who was far more severe and stern than his father, whom they had so often been accustomed to deceive; so, when the army of the king of England was now at Châteauroux, but that of the French was at Isoudun, (of which they had taken possession,) king Henry, betaking himself to his usual artifices, persuaded and advised, both by letters and ambassadors, that a peace should be established between them upon these terms; namely, that they should give in marriage to his younger son John the sister of the king of France, who had long before been in the custody of the king of England, together with the counties of Poictiers and Anjou, and also all the lands which he possessed from the kingdom of France, except Normandy alone, which should remain in the power of his heir, together with the kingdom of England. For this was the nature of this man, that he always envied his successor. But this sister of king Philip, and daughter of Louis, had in good faith been entrusted by her most christian father to the guardianship of the king of England, to be united in marriage to his son, the count of Poictou; but the count absolutely refused to marry her, by reason of the infamy which shortly afterwards arose against her on account of too great a familiarity contracted with his father: for it was said, and was the report amongst the people, (for if we speak the truth, this will not in any degree be weakened,) that after the death of the youthful Rosamond, whom, in his adulterous intercourse, the king had too fondly loved, he had unchastely, and with too much want of faith, dishonoured this virgin, the daughter of his liege lord, and entrusted in confidence to his honour. For, as it is reported, after that a great and execrable hatred arose between himself and his sons and their mother the queen, because, always striving after his unlawful machinations, he proposed to be separated by a divorce

from queen Eleanor, (and, indeed, for this very cause he procured cardinal Hugucio to be sent over as legate into England, from the court of Rome,) and to be married to the other; with this intention, indeed, that through his heirs begotten of her, by both his own powers and those of France, he might be able effectually to disinherit his former sons by Eleanor, who had troubled him.

But when king Philip had heard the letters, treating the ambassador with contempt, he sent them immediately to count Richard of Poictou, who, being in the army of his father, had hitherto faithfully adhered to him, as it was his duty to do. When he had heard read these letters, the count was moved with so great indignation, and the circumstance supplied such cause for hatred, that from that hour he suspected and deeply hated his father, as one who wished to plan his own disinheritance for the sake o. a younger son.

But it happened about this time at Châteauroux, that an arm of the infant Jesus, lying in his mother's bosom, as he is usually painted or sculptured, was struck and broken by the blow of a certain blasphemous person; the army on both sides seeing and being amazed at the deed; and, some few days after, blood flowed from the fracture, and the same hour that blasphemer miserably expired: on the occasion of which great and manifest miracle, when both sides at once ran together to see the sight, a truce of some days was mutually agreed upon. These things, therefore, being so accomplished, at the instigation of Richard, count of Poictou, who was beginning less acutely to feel the aforesaid offence of his father against his honour, and who for this reason had altogether refused to undertake any danger of war, either for him or with him, (because every kingdom which shall be divided against itself shall fall, and that nothing less becomes minds striving after great things than a cunning craftiness,) a truce for a year was at length established between the kings, on this condition, that Auvergne, of which he had taken possession, should in the meantime remain in the quiet keeping of the king of France.

Chap. III.—How the Land of Jerusalem was in the meantime violently assaulted by the Parthians and the Pagans, and almost entirely captured.

In the meantime[1] the wheel of fortune is revolved; and inflamed to retaliation by the fault of a revengeful mind, having assembled together an immense force in a short time, and bodies of armed men being brought together on every side in the parts of Palestine about Jerusalem, full of pride and successes, that destroyer of the faithful whom we have already named, seeing that the patriarch had returned empty, and that a deceitful hope could obtain no assistance whatever of the expectation of the coming of the king of England, which had been so much apprehended, ready to vent his rage, he made an assault upon the Holy Land about the first day of August, where also, in an open warlike contest, by the judgment

[1] A. D. 1187.

of God, secret to us, but never unjust, the united multitude of the barbarians hemmed in and killed the small number of our own soldiers, disagreeing as they were with each other, and wanting confidence by reason of our urgent sins. For that son of perdition (who was also an avenger sent from heaven for the many and enormous sins of our people in the Holy Land) for the space of two years had not ceased to gather, by bribes and prayers and promises, almost all the princes of the nations, and what warriors soever he had known of through Asia and the whole space of Africa, or any of whose fame he had heard. For, before the mission of the patriarch was undertaken, on account of our domestic and intestine divisions, he seized upon the opportunity to assault us, but afterwards to resist and rebel with far greater numbers with all his powers; but after the fruitless return of the patriarch he betook himself fiercely and boldly, and with greater confidence, to assault and take vengeance on us with the whole of his forces. For, having heard of the embassy of the patriarch to the parts of the west, decided both by the advice as well as the desire of the whole people no less than of the clergy, as he was a man of foresight and prudence in his own nation, he dreaded so great an assistance to the cause of Christianity, and especially the coming of the king of England, whom a false report had of old rendered so formidable to the infidels. Moreover, arranging matters cautiously, so as to ward off from himself and his servants, for the present, so imminent a danger, he sought by various ambassadors effectually to establish a truce for many years before the patriarch began his journey; but he was not able to gain his point; and, in truth, so great was the multitude of infidel dogs coming on, that they could not be estimated by any human calculation, nor hemmed in by any troops, however numerous. Our small force was not able therefore to resist so great and so infinite a multitude, especially since the Lord was angry with his people, in whose confidence and strength "one should chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight."[1]

And, therefore, in that lamentable slaughter, and inconsolable wound with which the anger of the Lord had lately harassed the land of promise, many holy and many impious men miserably perished by the edge of the sword; that in that general grinding down, the wheat might be separated from the chaff, that the vessels of wrath might be dashed to pieces, and in the vessels of mercy the Lord might make known his mercy. For, as the apostle says, "God, willing to shew his wrath, and to make his power known, endured with much long-suffering the vessels of wrath fitted for destruction, that he might shew the riches of his glory in the vessels of mercy which he had prepared beforehand in his glory, and whom he had called."[2] Therefore He struck down both the just and the impious at the same time, that He might consume the one and might consummate the happiness of the other; for the death of sinners is most miserable, but the death of his saints is precious in the sight of the Lord.[3]

[1] See Deut. xxxii. 30. [2] Rom. ix. 22, 23. [3] See Ps. cxvi. 13.

But that we may return to our history; it is evident from what has been said, that the aforesaid evils happened on account of the fruitless promises of the king of England, and the heavy indignation of other princes, because on this account especially such large assistance had been sent. Alas for that man through whose cowardice the Holy Land was given to destruction! Alas also for him through whose jealousy the attempts of the faithful were prostrated, and it was not recovered afterwards! Alas! I say, for that perverse generation through whom, in our own days, so great scandals came to the world! Moreover, as in past time, by permission of the divine justice, the Holy Land was very often profaned by the invasions of the unbelievers, but afterwards was recovered by the faithful, divine mercy smiling on their efforts; so also in our own days. Oh that He who for our pressing sins has exercised justice, in his abundant goodness will show mercy! But the chief pontiff by his letters and nuncios to various, I may say almost to every part of the christian world, not without just cause, invited the faithful to the succour of the Holy Land; for which reason the reader will here find inserted the letter which he then sent into England.

Chap. IV.—The Letter of Pope Clement, that Assistance be given to the Faithful.

"Clement, a bishop, servant of the servants of God, to the venerable brethren, the archbishop of Canterbury, and his suffragans, health and apostolical benediction.

"We think that your whole body cannot be ignorant of the grievous and horrible calamity of persecution which has lately fallen upon the parts of the Holy Land about Jerusalem, at the instigation of a multitude of open sinners, both from the atrocity of the deed itself, which common report has made everywhere known, and also from our letters which have been sent upon this subject into different parts. But it is of consequence to the christian state, that the greater as well as the lesser prelates of the churches faithfully fulfil their part with diligent solicitude to succour those portions of the world, lest, if perchance succour be not quickly sent to that land, this slavish and accursed progeny of Ishmael, which has already begun in a hostile manner to pull down the peculiar inheritance of the Lord in these parts, should, in the meantime, assume an increase of strength, and, growing powerful in his own vanity, should more insolently raise his heel against the Christian, the son of the free woman, (which God forbid!) and should more fiercely persecute him. Since, therefore, the loss and calamities of the land of Jerusalem itself generally affect all Christians, as being that land in which Christ, by his death, redeemed the human race, we have thought fit, with the advice of our brethren, to direct our letters for the subsidies destined for that land, to yourselves in the first instance, as being placed to watch over the church, and afterwards to others. We entreat you, therefore, and exhort you in the Lord, and by this our apostolical

rescript we enjoin you, that you yourselves transmit to us suitable assistance, both by sending men and money for the succour of this same province, that others, when they see you doing this, may the more readily be excited to imitate your example. Also, we will that you effectually induce those who are subject to your authority to join in this work, that since you and they have been partakers together in suffering, you may be, as the apostle says,[1] partakers of the consolation, and of that remission which has generally been granted in former time by our predecessor pope Gregory, of blessed memory, and a short time since by ourselves, to all who themselves go thither in person, or send suitable assistance. But we will, that, by our authority and your own, you compel the clergy who are under your jurisdiction forthwith to succour that land out of the worldly goods which they have; also that you appoint, each one of you throughout his diocese, discreet, faithful, and provident clerks, who may zealously collect the money of the subsidy, and may faithfully dispense the same, with your advice, and that of other prudent persons if it shall be necessary. Moreover, whoever, being truly penitent, shall go thither in his own person, shall have remission of all his sins. But those who shall send a competent subsidy out of their worldly goods to those parts, or shall send any one who may remain there in their stead, for the defence of the christian people, to them we stand pledged to remit their sins by your authority; it being granted with due consideration both to the quality and quantity of their assistance, and that they themselves are truly penitent. Moreover, if there are any of those who are going thither, who may be held bound by a solemn engagement to pay interest for money borrowed, that, without the delay of an appeal to us, you compel their creditors, by canonical censure, that they altogether desist from the exaction of the fulfilment of their solemn promise. But if there are any who, perchance, are held bound for debts due, and which they are unable for the present to discharge, we will that, sufficient security being received of their possessions and their other goods, the time of payment be put off until their return; or if they shall die there, until certain information be received of their death, lest on an occasion of this kind the advantage of so necessary a journey at this moment in the meanwhile may be retarded; but so that when they return, or a certain report of their death shall have become publicly known, each creditor shall be competently satisfied accordingly. But since, "unless the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain;"[2] nor does human wisdom profit, but fail, if it be destitute of divine help: above all things, invoke the mercy of God by your prayers, and order it to be invoked continually throughout the churches, that He would not regard the sins of the people; but that from heaven, for his mercy alone, He would look upon and defend his sanctuary, his holy city Jerusalem, and would not suffer it to be defiled by the wicked hands of the infidels. Moreover, whomsoever you shall discover to be at enmity between themselves, you shall earnestly strive to recal to peace and good-will, by

[1] See 2 Cor. i. 7. [2] Ps. cxxvii. 1.

exhortation, or even by the censures of the church; so that, every ground of animosity and jealousy being removed, they may be rendered more courageous and more united to break down that haughty nation, and with the help of God to drive them utterly out of those parts. All those also who go thither in their own persons, and send their families, we take under the protection of the blessed Peter, and under our own, until they shall have returned; and we will that they enjoy all their possessions in as great security as they can desire.

"Given at the Lateran, on the fourth of the ides of February, [10th Feb.] and in the first year of our pontificate." [A.D. 1188.]

CHAP. V.—OF RICHARD, COUNT OF POICTOU, THE FIRST OF THE NOBILITY ON THIS SIDE OF THE ALPS WHO WAS SIGNED WITH THE CROSS, AND OF THE EXAMPLE GIVEN BY THE PRINCES ON THIS SIDE OF THE ALPS, AND BY ALL.

THESE sad occurrences having happened, about the beginning[1] of August, in the parts of the Holy Land beyond the sea by the divine permission, as well for the punishment of the eastern church, less fervent in piety, as well as to try and exercise by the fervour of faith the devoted obedience of the western churches, the report of this wonderful event came to the west about the first of November next following, and immediately upon the arrival of the report, Richard, count of Poictou, was signed with the sign of the cross in the city of Tours, by the archbishop of the same place; and he strenuously devoted himself to avenge the injury done to Christ. Wherefore, also, by this strenuous deed such an example was given of noble daring, that Henry the king of England, the father of the count, and Philip the king of France, with a laudable emulation, although they had been at enmity before this time, in the same place and at the same hour having appointed a conference at Gisors, at the persuasion of the archbishop of Tyre who had come thither, and under the inspiration of divine grace, assumed the cross, the sign of salvation, on their shoulders, on the first of February,[2] with a feeling of entire concord; and at the same time many men of consideration both amongst the clergy and the laity did the like. But in order to give time for the preparation for, and the completion of, so great an undertaking, they fixed beforehand the year, that is the Easter, not the following, but the next after,[3] as the time for beginning the journey. They resolved also, with one consent, that those who had taken the cross should be empowered to mortgage their lands and revenues for the space of three years from the time when they undertook the journey. Also they decreed that the tenth of the goods and possessions belonging to those who did not undertake the expedition should everywhere be given for the support of the rest who went.

Matters being thus arranged, the archbishop and bishops (many of whom had come together there in the presence of the kings and of the whole people) pronounced the sentence of excommunication against those who by a rash audacity should endeavour to prevent

[1] A.D. 1187. [2] A.D. 1188. [3] A.D. 1190.

the expedition which had been resolved upon, or who within the aforesaid time should disturb those who had taken the cross in preparing themselves for the undertaking, or should cause confusion to them in going or in returning, or also in the meantime should molest their lands by any hostile incursion; and this sentence there given was a short time after confirmed by the supreme pontiff Lucius and by the universal church.

But as the kings after the example of the count, so after the example of the kings the Roman emperor Frederic also, together with the more noble persons in the German kingdom of both orders, took the cross with great magnificence in the noble city of Mayence, in that great court which they call the court of God, on the day of "Lætare Hierusalem,"[1] at the admonition of the venerable bishop of Albi and a cardinal of the Roman church, that divine power working with Him from whom holy desires, good counsels, and just works do proceed. Thus, therefore, through almost the whole extent of Europe, the rest of the world following the example of princes, the injury done to the Saviour so deeply sank into the mind of each individual, that you would see in every assembly of persons few who were not signed with the cross, compared with those who were. For it seemed as it were a reproach not to take up the vindication as well as the external sign of the defence of the cross; and how great good-will would they have had to undertake the duty, who, as it is believed, happily and effectually would have bound themselves by the vow of obedience, if they could have been worthy of striving for and obtaining so great a favour! For on account of the discord as well as the jealousy of the princes, and the pride and arrogance of others, and for these many sins, the divine justice permitted not such great things to be effectually accomplished by them, as afterwards plainly appeared. Since, as Cassiodorus says, "An armed people without God is unarmed." Moreover, as the whole of Christendom, as we may say, is excited to battle and to vengeance, so also are all the nations of the heathen and the people of the infidels excited to resistance and to rebellion; from which causes there arose so great a disorder upon the earth, and so great a concussion in the world, as had not been heard of for many ages before.

CHAP. VI.—OF THE ASTRONOMICAL PREDICTIONS BY WHICH THEY WERE DECEIVED FROM THIS DISTURBED STATE OF THINGS, AND OF SOME CONSOLATORY LETTERS WHICH WERE SENT BY A CERTAIN PERSON.

BUT the philosophers of our time, and the astronomers as well of Toledo as also in like manner those of Apulia, and also many others, foresaw and predicted this great perturbation and commotion of the world for more than a year before, and this they did by means of their magic art, from observing the courses and motions of the planets. In this also they were all deceived, because they imagined that the movement of things on the earth would precisely correspond with the motion of the earth itself, falsely inter-

[1] March 27th, A. D. 1188.

twining the fate of the things contained into the thing itself containing them; for which reason also they predicted the swallowing up of many cities, especially in the eastern parts of the world, for in those parts the overthrow of many cities and castles occurred through this commotion, as can be made plainly to appear from the letter of a certain philosopher of our time to some of his friends, sent for the sake of consoling them under such events, and which letter is here inserted:[1]—

"It has seemed well to me that I should make known to you how you may escape the fury of the storms of which you have been so often forewarned, as I have learned, from the more skilful persons of our profession. First, then, it should be known how many are predicted, and should be declared at what times they are to happen. The first tempest, as they say, shall most violently come to pass on the last day of August: the second shall be on the day of the nativity of the blessed Mary, [8th Sept.] accompanied by more diseases. It is predicted that the third will happen on the sixteenth of September; it shall abound in very many kinds of calamities. The fourth and last (while all the planets are in Virgo) is to be feared by the northern parts of the world more than by the others. But neither this nor the two named before shall come to pass as some persons, I know not whom, who are unfolding the secrets of wisdom, falsely assert shall happen, led on as they are rashly by error, and everywhere by their own fears; nor shall they occur at those times, nor so severely as these false prophets predict, although many calamities may arise from them through different regions of the world. The fourth, which is most of all to be dreaded, all the planets and Causla meeting in Libra, shall occur on the twelfth day of October, two hours before midnight, when the day begins to dawn. From that time it will begin, and will continue two days and a half. But the greater the danger, the greater the chance of escape. The fifth shall most powerfully invade this region and the places near it; and this region, and our province especially, shall suffer less ruin than the rest. But in places which usually smoke, and the less liable to fall through the motion of the earth, subterranean houses are to be constructed of osiers, which in length should lie towards the south, that the wind may quickly pass away in the sides of the mountains opposite to the winds; and on account of the impurity of the air, it will be necessary to use comforting electuaries, and fumigations of odoriferous kinds, from frankincense and wood of aloes, and other aromatics. But, also, in these and in other cases it is right to seek divine protection by earnest prayer; and be assured that from that same art by which these things are learned, our own deliverance, and that of others, is constantly promised. That art, which is beyond the thought of men, extols itself. Nor let the too dreadful promise of the people of Toledo move you, for the things which are too strictly promised will happen in a milder manner; nor will those things generally come to pass which are publicly foretold.

[1] See Hoved. (A.D. 1185,) fol. 356, who gives further illustrations of the apprehension which then prevailed.

"For is this wonderful or contrary to experience, that the whole world should be thrown into confusion, when the price paid for the world and the Redeemer of it, and the Maker of all things, are disturbed? or that the surface of the earth should be moved, when the most precious cross on which the salvation of the earth was completed was so impiously taken away?"

CHAP. VII.—HOW COUNT RICHARD WAS ABOUT TO ENTER UPON HIS JOURNEY, BUT WAS HINDERED BY THE ILL-WILL OF HIS FATHER, AND OF HIS BEING VIOLENTLY TURNED TO WAR ON THIS ACCOUNT.

THESE things having been thus accomplished, count Richard of Poictou, who was worthy to give an example and not to seek it from others, as he was the first to bind himself by the tie of duty, so in truth was he the chief to propose setting out; he went to his father in a humble manner, to ask two things of him, both of which were necessary to so great an undertaking; but he did not, as the result proved, gain his request. For he asked either that he might be permitted to borrow money upon the county of Poictou even to the full term granted to strangers; or that he would grant the power of mortgaging it to some other person who was faithful to his father and himself, placing it in safe and secure hands, and that he might confirm the same by his own act and deed. And since he was to undertake so far-distant and dangerous a journey, (lest during his long absence any one should be able maliciously to plot anything to his prejudice,) he besought the king that he would grant him permission to take an acknowledgment of fidelity of the chief persons in the kingdom of England, and also of those territories beyond the sea which belonged to him by hereditary right, saving in all points such fidelity to his father as they had duly before tendered. On both these points, hearing him, yet not indeed listening to him, the king palliated the wickedness which he had conceived in his mind by some such a reply as the following: "O my dearest son, we will go together, and not separately will we set out on this great journey; and all things, not only money, but everything else which is suitable for our rank, shall be shared between us. Whatever abundance may seem to be mine, nothing shall be wanting to you; for death alone, which spares no one, shall separate us from each other." For the father envied the son the first efforts in this great undertaking, and the first-fruits of such an illustrious labour, and the renown, and glory, and victory which he would obtain from such a journey, if all should turn out prosperously; since, if he should have been happy and fortunate (for, as Solomon says,[1] "A wise son is a glory to his father"); if in this journey the favour of fortune should have added to his son any glory and prosperity, the glory would be accounted as his own. But the count, perceiving the jealousy and ill-will of his father, (which was sufficiently manifest,) when he could not gain from him any other reply, he departed from his father both in body and in heart.

When the king had heard that he had returned to Poictou, and

[1] See Prov. x. 1.

was hastening in every way the things necessary for so great a preparation, and also that he was wishing to begin the voyage without delay in the next summer, by messengers already sent before to the king of Sicily, his sister's husband, to prepare a ship for the purpose, betaking himself to carefully sought-for and unusual stratagems, he was not very well able to conceal the jealousy which had taken possession of his mind. For, having forwarded a large sum of money, and having promised more (although as yet in secret), he endeavoured on every side to stir up hostility against his son, both amongst the more powerful nobles of Poictou and Gascony, and also with Raymond, earl of Saint Gilles, that even thus he might recal him from the obedience of Christ, which he had taken upon himself by confirming it with a vow; and this the king did, utterly unmindful of, or rather despising, that sentence of excommunication solemnly and generally pronounced, in his own express presence, against those who should in any way molest with hostility those called to the obedience of Christ, and who had assumed the cross.

But the count, when he heard these things, as he was strenuous and courageous in arms, collected his forces, and in the first place turned himself vigorously against the nearest of his rebellious subjects in Poictou; and having surrounded it by siege, he shut up their principal persons and their leaders in the castle of Tailleburt; and within a few days he compelled them to surrender and to take the cross (for he would admit of no other ransom), inasmuch as there were more than sixty of the most powerful and chosen citizens. Moreover, Poictou being quickly reduced to a state of peace, and the castle of Tailleburt, hitherto impregnable, having for the third time fallen before him, immediately he marched to the confines of Gascony, active and energetic, with a powerful army, where, in a short time, having reformed such things as seemed in a ruinous and disgraceful state, he forthwith invaded the confines of Toulouse with a powerful force; and having taken many fortified places, and having abandoned some and received others into favour, when he would have prepared to assault the noble city of Toulouse, from which he was but a short distance, and which he claimed by right of his mother, he received ambassadors from the king of France, sent to him by the entreaty of the count of Saint Gilles, that as far as he could, he would desist from the undertaking; and they also announced to him, on the part of the king, that he should receive his right at the court of France, and due revenge for his injuries. Ambassadors were also sent by the same king of France to the seneschals of Normandy and Anjou, to whom he gave command that they should either recal the count from the undertaking as quickly as possible, or that for the future they should place no confidence in any truce concluded between himself and the king of England. But the count, as is usual, urging on his fortune, and following up his successes, could not be recalled from his noble attempt, either by the command and frequent warnings of the king of France, nor for the entreaties of the seneschals, nor even by the admonitions of his father, to whom, now in England, tidings had been conveyed of what was going on; for as he was courageous

and bold in undertaking, so was he obstinate and persevering in accomplishing his design; for which reason I have thought it proper to insert here his character, which our Topographical History of Ireland portrays.[1]

CHAP. VIII. — OF THE MARKS OF THE CHARACTER OF RICHARD, COUNT OF POICTOU, INCIDENTALLY HERE INSERTED.

BUT the second son (for an account has already been given of the eldest), in whose praises worthy of notice the historian will not be silent, by the careful disposition of his father, refusing his paternal title, took immediately the honour of his mother's family; and in his tender years ruled and subdued a hitherto indomitable territory, so that through all its various parts he not only made it far more peaceful and tranquil than usual, but also again rendered entire some portions of it which for long had been mutilated and dispersed, and by his strenuous valour restored each to its ancient condition.

Reducing, therefore, to form those parts which were misshapen, and bringing the lawless under rule, confounding the strong and smoothing down asperities, he restored its ancient boundaries and laws to Aquitania.

Thus urging on his fortune, and extending his views into former times, master of himself, and always eagerly following up his successes, as a second Cæsar he believed nothing accomplished when anything remained to be done; he was furious to rush to arms in war, and delighted to walk in no other paths than those of bloodshed. He was one the impulses of whose bold breast, feigned as well as virtuous, one while arduous and sublime, at another sudden, whom neither the steep sides of mountains, nor lofty towers hitherto impregnable by art and situation, are able to check. But since bad qualities are always nearly allied to good ones, under error itself, virtue instead of vice has often produced crimes, burning with zeal for peace and justice, that he might especially repress the audacity of an ungovernable nation, and render innocence safe amongst the guilty; raging with the rigour of justice against the evil doers, he began to be generally hated for his cruelty by the outcries of the envious, whence he ought not unworthily to have deserved praise from those who were worthy to bestow it. This stain of cruelty he evidently had incurred without cause; for this reason, the causes for a while ceasing, he put on kindness and clemency, and without being over-hard, and certainly far from being careless and lax, that severity by degrees subsided and approached the golden mean.

Moreover, He who gave nature gave also the passions of nature; for to restrain the fiercest impulses of his mind, this our lion is more than lion, is harassed like a lion by the torture of a quartan ague, by which, although he is not afraid, yet he so almost constantly trembles, that with his trembling he causes the whole world to shake and fear.

Amidst the various virtues, therefore, in which he is pre-eminent

[1] See Topogr. Hibern. p. 752.

by a certain peculiar prerogative, three remarkable ones render him incomparably illustrious: activity, and an extraordinary courage, and an immense liberality and profusion, always praiseworthy in a prince, and adorning other virtues, at the same time, by a firmness of purpose both of mind and word. And that I may include many things under one head by a brief panegyric, he was second to his illustrious brother in age only, and not in virtue; for whereas they were of different manners and pursuits, although they sprang from the same stock, yet each deserved glorious praise and eternal memory. Both were of noble stature, somewhat more than of middle height, and of beauty worthy of an empire. In activity and greatness of mind they were nearly equal, but very unlike in their way of showing their virtues. Henry was praised for his lenity and liberality; Richard was remarkable for his severity of manner and firmness of purpose. The former was commendable for the sweetness, the latter for the gravity, of his manner; for the former, facility, for the latter, constancy demanded praise; the former was remarkable for his mercy, the latter for his justice; the former was the refuge of the wretched and evil doers, the latter was their punishment; the former was the shield of the bad, the latter their destroyer. Again; the one was addicted to martial games, the other to serious pursuits; the one was attached to foreigners, the other more to his own subjects; the one was beloved by all, the other by the good; the one coveted the world by the greatness of his mind, the other not ineffectually sought that competency which was his own by right. But why should I specify each of their various qualities? Neither the present age nor any antiquity recals to mind two so great and yet so very different men as the sons of one prince.

But here are to be added to the former accounts those circumstances which have since come to our knowledge. With how great proof of vigour, having gained the crown of England, did he shortly after make an attack upon the walls of Messana, when he was on his way to the Holy Land; and whilst Philip, the king of France, was within them, and not thinking of or suspecting any such attack, he nevertheless assaulted and courageously entered that city. By a fortunate voyage at sea he reduced the island of Cyprus, hitherto an asylum for pirates and infidels, and led away in captivity the king, who had also usurped the title of emperor; and meeting by the way with a ship belonging to Saladin, which was filled with arms and provisions, to fortify Acre, he boldly attacked it with his galleys, which ceased not to pierce it with their iron beaks, until he saw it swallowed up in the sea. At length, coming to Acre, immediately assisted by Philip, king of France, who behaved himself nobly, he undermined and threw down the walls, attacked the city with a powerful force, and decapitated with the sword three thousand Turks. Moreover, he slew, not far from the castle of Daro, a Babylonian band of soldiers, who had been sent across from Egypt for the defence of Jerusalem; and having put to flight, with a small but select force, many thousand Turks, who had convoyed it, he brought back three thousand camels laden with the treasures

of Egypt. And—what was a greater and more courageous action than all—with a very small and slender fleet he recovered Joppa, which had once more been occupied by the Turks, and was full of arms and a military force; and with such moderate resources (since fortune favours the bold), at the same time, by a rash rather than a prudent attempt, he engaged in a pitched battle with standards erect many thousands of Turks, and put them to a bloody flight and slew them. All which things indeed, if humbly and with a pure and simple mind and sincere intention he would have taken care to do, referring everything to God, and had kept pride and jealousy far removed, and had given God the glory when he had achieved any glorious work, everything, as it is believed, would have been accomplished by himself in a praiseworthy manner.[1] But sufficient has been said; let us now return to the history.

CHAP. IX.—HOW KING HENRY, IN THE MEANTIME, WAS INTENT UPON VARIOUS ROBBERIES AND EXACTIONS OF TENTHS; AND OF VERY MANY MONITORY AND THREATENING VISIONS OPENLY BUT IN VAIN SHOWN TO HIM.

KING HENRY, who in the meantime had endeavoured in every way to heap up money by various robberies, by exactions of tithes, and by suits respecting the forests in England, having learnt the issue of those things, and that the count could not in any way be recalled from his undertaking; hearing also of the most heavy indignation of the French king, and the contempt in which he himself would be held, unless he could quickly be persuaded to give up the attempt; and at the same time having seen and reflected upon the whole of his machinations against his son, which were of such a nature as he had always been accustomed to resort to; remembering, moreover, that the sentence of excommunication solemnly given through him would return upon his own head, he became anxious and full of grief, and bent his course towards the sea, intending to pass over into Normandy. But he compelled many in England to take the cross; for the most part they were of the nobility, not only friends, but even those of his own family who were most obnoxious to him, and especially those whom he rather held in hatred and suspected; the latter, indeed, he allured by flattery and promises, but the former he urged by threats and the force of power. For this reason, in the presence of some men of high rank, but yet such as were on familiar terms with him, he sometimes, in the fulness of his heart, made use of words like the following: "Have I not," he said, "with sufficient caution circumvented the French king, and deceived and intentionally led him on to bind himself to such a great labour and so perilous an undertaking, whilst, as far as I am concerned, I am free to undertake or to avoid the expedition?" From whence it is believed that he took the cross only deceitfully, and thinking that by the help of money he could gain a dispensation of absolution from the court of Rome, as he had frequently done in many unlawful proceedings.

[1] Giraldus here introduces a few confirmatory remarks from St. Augustine and Cicero, which may conveniently be omitted.

Therefore it is the more greatly to be wondered at, for he is to be compared to the dog in the manger; he had no intention to undertake the journey himself, and at the same time he envied in no small degree any one else who would attempt it, even were it his own son.

As the king was hastening towards the sea, and had passed the night at Guildford, the same night the Lord visited a certain chaplain of the court whose name was Walter, and surnamed Daumartin, with a vision to the following effect. He seemed to see distinctly a certain archbishop standing near the sacraments of the altar, holding a flaming sword in his right hand, like another two-edged sword of Paradise, and forbidding any one to approach to the celestial gate unless the penitent and converted. And when he had looked more closely at him, it seemed to him that it was Thomas, formerly archbishop of Canterbury, who immediately turned his eyes sharply upon him, and brandishing the sword, opened his mouth, and uttered these words in Latin:—"Behold this new sword, now forged and not as yet grown cold; this sword shall pierce through the king your master, according to those words of the Psalmist, 'Unless ye shall be converted, He will brandish his sword; He hath bent his bow and made it ready.'"[1] And having uttered these words, this terrible person vanished. And the priest leaped up, startled out of sleep by his terror; and immediately went to the church, (for the vision happened early in the morning,) and he celebrated a mass of the Holy Ghost for the king; and so, going to the chapel, after mass he revealed the vision to the king in secret before he came out. When the king had heard this, having thrice knelt at the altar for a space sufficient to repeat the Lord's Prayer three times, he signed himself on the forehead and face with his right hand, and passed to his chamber, and thence to the council. But, the day going on, between the first and third hour the priest was called to the king, who was remaining in the chapel amongst the clergy of the court, of whom he was one; and when he was conducted to the king into a certain room in the inner part of the house, and when he entered at the door he found the king alone, sitting in a corner, who shook his head at him, and groaning out his name, said—"Walter, Walter, your sword has begun to cut cruelly, for even now we have lost Châteauroux."[2] For news had come to him that same hour from across the sea that, through the treachery of those who had them in charge, the king of France had seized upon that fortress, as well as the whole of the province lying near it. As soon as the priest would have attempted to offer some words of consolation to him, the king immediately went out from the chamber unto the court.

About this same time, a good and learned man heard this voice in his sleep:—"See, read this, concerning the king;" and, looking down from above, he saw this written on the ground,—"He has raised my sign upon himself; he shall endure sorrow upon sorrow;

[1] See Psal. vii. 12. Vulg.

[2] This incident fixes the date of the vision as having occurred in June, 1188.

his wife shall rise up against him, and prove unfaithful:" and a little after,—"He shall be covered up with those who are veiled." The end of this vision pointed out the end, mournful as it was, and the place of burial of this king, as will appear plainly from what follows.[1]

CHAP. X.—HOW RICHARD, COUNT OF POICTOU, SEPARATED FROM HIS FATHER, AND TURNED TO THE SIDE OF THE KING OF FRANCE.

BUT when the king had come from thence to the seaport which is called Portsmouth, a certain noble matron, whose name was Margaret de Bohun, who had come to him from a far-distant part of the kingdom, after many others, at length addressed the king in these words:—"My lord, never have I entertained so great fear for your state as I do at this moment; for in everything which is past, whatever adversity happened to us, the blessing of the people always rendered the event prosperous to you; but now, (and I grieve to say it,) on the contrary, it departs from you." And when, having made inquiry, the king had heard that the exaction of tenths was the cause of this, being angry, he replied, with indignation, "These wicked people curse without reason; but if I live and return, they shall not curse me without good cause." But the Lord, who not only knows the words, but also searches the heart, since spoil extorted by avarice cannot have a prosperous issue, judicially punished this enormous exaction soon afterwards by an unexpected death, and rendered vain this bitter threat. For at length, the south wind blowing, he sailed over the French sea, and passing through Normandy and Le Mans, he hastened with a large army towards Châteauroux; and here his son, the count of Poictou, who had now returned from Toulouse, within a short time joined his father with a powerful force. When, according to his usual custom, the king of England had tried beforehand, and in many ways, by ambassadors, but in vain, to influence the king of France, who had not come to the fortress in his private capacity; and, moreover, when they had at length met in conference on an appointed day, after many altercations savouring not of peace or concord, the count of Poictou (since neither formerly nor now he was able to gain from his father by his entreaties any declaration of the fidelity of the nobles to himself, and on this account believing himself an object of suspicion, and thinking of the ill-will of his father, which, envious of his successor, caused him unjustly to prefer the younger to the proper heirs to the throne) at once, and in the presence of his father, went over to the French king, and immediately did homage to him for all his territories beyond the sea which belonged to him by hereditary right. And besides this, when they had entered into a confederacy there, and had bound themselves by mutual oaths, the king agreed to help the count against his father to seek possession of those his transmarine territories; from whence there arose an inexorable discord, and

[1] See also Hoveden, f. 370.

such an implacable dissension was excited as never ceased to fill his father with confusion to the last day of his life.[1]

Behold, how the obedience of the cross is rendered vain by pressing sins! Behold, how the solemn vows of princes are rendered useless and disgraceful, whilst so great and praiseworthy attempts, as it was hoped, to inflict vengeance for the injuries of Christ are at last expended, in a manner so blameworthy, in deadly hatred and inexorable discord! It is evident, from what has already been said, that king Henry had been the original cause and occasion for all these impediments, by waging war against his son, and by incurring the sentence of excommunication to his own destruction by the divine vengeance.

Things being thus finished, a truce was entered into on both sides, through the severity of the winter's cold, to continue to the next Easter; and in the meantime, the territories and castles which he had seized remaining quietly in the possession of the French king, each returned to his own home.

CHAP. XI.—HOW KING HENRY WAS CONFOUNDED IN EVERY RESPECT; AND OF THE INFIDEL SPEECH OPENLY MADE BY HIM, WHICH SHAME AND GRIEF EQUALLY EXTORTED FROM HIM.

BUT king Henry, having seen how things had fallen out daily more and more to his confusion beyond what is credible, anxiously grieving, on his departure ordered that two bishops should be summoned to his presence, with whom he had a conference; one of whom he had procured to be advanced from the Carthusians, namely, Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, and Hugh, bishop of Lincoln; for it was his custom to take with him for conference bishops, abbots, and persons who had adopted the religious habit, as monks, Templars, Hospitallers, and the brethren of Grammont; and he was accustomed to confer with them more than with soldiers, even about military affairs. For knowing that, according to the saying of the comic writer, everything is to be tried by a wise man rather than a resort to arms, he laboured in every way for a peaceful settlement of the affair; and through money, by the intervention of such persons, he frequently, and indeed almost always, carried his point with Louis, the French king, who at one and the same time reverenced religion and was a lover of money. But because in neither case he could gain his end against Philip his son, but only by force of arms, in which he was far his inferior, and forgetting that he had even in peace forsaken patience, the leader of peace, it was a matter of necessity, and beyond a doubt, that he must yield and fail in his object, his many offences weighing upon him. Moreover, about the last part of his reign, to redeem his character, (for he had before treated many with great indignity,) he had determined, more from a love of a good name than from any real devotion, to bestow cathedral sees on persons of the two before-named orders. So these two individuals whom he had raised he called and summoned, and

[1] The author here quotes Ezek. vi. 14, and xxxv. 6.

retiring a little from the multitude, as his custom was, delirious with the vehemence of his grief and anxiety of mind, he burst forth in their hearing into some such disgraceful and impious words as the following: "Why," said he, "should I reverence Christ? Why should I honour Him who takes away my honour in the earth, and by a mere youth" (here he alluded to the king of France) "permits me to be so ignominiously confounded?" More he said, but this we have thought right rather to pass over in silence than to contaminate our page withal, lest memory should recal the wickedness and blasphemy to posterity. When he had for some time longer groaned out these and other like expressions, as if the Lord needed any of our good things, at the same time utterly rejecting all words of consolation and encouragement, he set spurs to his horse, as though carried beyond himself, and rushed back to the multitude more quickly than he had before left them. How far distant from the Lord was the heart of this man, and how unequal to and unlike holy Job in his patience![1]

CHAP. XII.—THE QUESTION IS ASKED, AND THE REPLY GIVEN, WHY NORMANDY IS NOW MORE SLOW IN DEFENDING ITSELF THAN FORMERLY.

SOMEWHERE about this time, when, in a conversation which took place, mention had by chance been made of the various conflicts and frequent hostilities between the kings, he who wrote these things asked of Ralph de Glanville, who then was seneschal, and also justiciary of England, by what chance, or by what misfortune, it had happened, that whereas the dukes of Normandy so nobly defended that same territory against the kings of France by force of arms, when they first acquired the dukedom, as the histories of the time testify, so that they compelled some of them shamefully to turn their backs, and to seek the only safety they could by flight,—they now seemed to have less power and ability to defend themselves, when their many and great transmarine territories were added to their rule, as well as the kingdom of England itself? But he, as he was wise, and at the same time eloquent, replied, with his accustomed gravity adorning his eloquence, and with a certain severity of manner which commanded attention, "that by these two battles a little before the coming of the Normans, the first at Pontigny, between king Louis, the son of Charlemagne and Gurmund, and the second at Cambray long after, by the fickleness as well as the animosity of Ralph of Cambray, the whole of the youth of France had become almost totally extinct and exhausted; so that, in point of numbers, it had by no means been recruited before these our own times." Moreover, he who wrote this added, to which Ralph de Glanville assented, "that in the time of the dukes, before being made kings, they had oppressed both the Normans and English by a violent dominion and an insular tyranny, they had been raised by liberty, and were strong and courageous to repel injuries, and were more practised in arms.

[1] A few passages from the Book of Job and the writings of St. Augustine are here omitted.

For how can they raise their necks to resist the free arms and the fierce courage of the French, trodden down as they have been by the atrocity of tyrants?" For there is nothing which so excites the hearts of men to bravery, so raises and wins them to it, as the joy of liberty; and nothing so depresses and deters them from action, as the oppression of slavery. It also makes for this argument, that, by a misfortune peculiar to this man, not only do sons rise up against the father, but also the brothers frequently rise up against each other, contrary to the tie of nature.

CHAP. XIII.—HOW KING HENRY WAS SEIZED WITH THE MALADY OF AN ABSCESS ABOUT THE GROIN; AND HOW CONFESSION WAS AT LENGTH MADE BY HIM, BUT RATHER EXTORTED THAN DEVOUTLY OFFERED.

THE winter being past, in the following March[1] the king of England lay sick at Le Mans, grievously afflicted by an abscess, which had swelled from acute humours around his groin, and now had turned into a fistula; but, besides very many bishops and abbots, he had with him assiduously following his court at that time three archbishops, to wit, Baldwin of Canterbury, Walter of Rouen, and William[2] of Tours. For it was the custom of this man intentionally to retain with him the most noble persons of his realm, both clergy and laity, that his court might always appear magnificent to foreign ambassadors. So, when his sickness rendered him so weak as to despair of life, the three prelates before named came together, as if by agreement, and entreated and advised him in the faith, that by confession and penance he should earnestly seek remission of his sins, and that in the holy days of Lent he should cleanse his life even at the last, as one who was believed to be at the point of death. But as he had been admonished of these things very frequently, yet in vain and to no purpose, when they had all obtained permission, they prepared to depart from the court, saying to each other that they had rather that the king fell deeply into error in their absence, than that he should depart from the faith whilst they were present, yet unable to cure the sickness of his soul. At last he acquiesced in their counsel, yet unwillingly and by compulsion; and since he was not able to defer or procrastinate the matter to a more distant time, he fixed even then the third day, in which at last he did indeed confess; but then not all the sins of which he was guilty, nor even the more heinous ones; some also he suppressed and was silent about; and, moreover, when they inquired of him, some he denied entirely, which, in time before, he had confessed to one or other of the parties before named; and those faults which he then confessed in their hearing he acknowledged, not by accusing himself for the enormities of the excesses, or by mourning for the faults, but he put forth excuses to palliate them, rather extenuating them, and assigning a reason for what he had done; so that, indeed, by arguing and disputing about each point, he thus made a pretended more than a true, and a

[1] A.D. 1189.

[2] Bouquet here points out an error; the archbishop's name was Bartholomew.

sophistical rather than a devout, confession. But since the will of the Lord was that, when he recovered from that sickness, he should be reserved for far greater sorrows, as a terrible example for all the kings of the earth, between Easter and Whitsuntide, in the months of April and May,[1] we frequently set forth (for I was then a follower of the court), with labour in vain, to attend conferences in the boundaries of the county between the king and the count of Poictou. For, as we read in the Book of Kings,[2] of Sennacherib the Assyrian monarch, that he was set free when the destroying angel smote a hundred and eighty-five thousand in the siege of Jerusalem, and on account of his wickedness was reserved to be put to death by his own sons, so a fate not unlike that awaited this monarch.

CHAP. XIV.—HOW A VISION CONCERNING KING HENRY WAS SEEN BY A MAN OF NOBLE BIRTH [RICHARD[3] DE] RIDVARIIS, AND FULFILLED A SHORT TIME AFTERWARDS.

IT happened at that time, when by the inclemency of the season many died from the severity of the weather, that Richard de Ridvariis, a cousin of the king and a man of noble birth, lay desperately ill at Le Mans by the virulence of an acute fever, the same which at that time attacked many and distinguished persons. When Baldwin, the venerable archbishop of Canterbury, in attendance on whom I then was, had come for the purpose of visiting him, he found him laid sick in an inner chamber, and either awakened from sleep, or rather, at length, recalled from an ecstasy into which he had been thrown by the violence of the disease and the long-suffering of God, whereupon he suddenly burst forth into words to the following effect:—"Where," he said, "are my men? Let some one immediately go and tell my lord the king to provide for himself without delay, and carefully to set his house in order, because he has, out of his own free will, repented and corrected his faults; for I am going hence, and he shall certainly follow me within two months and a half." But when they heard these his words they were astonished beyond measure; yet they thought that they were wanderings, and knew that persons in sickness often utter such speeches; afterwards he added these words to a certain physician whose name was William, surnamed Vacelinus, who then had him under his care, and who reproved him more severely than the others did, telling him to refrain from such expressions. "And you, William, look to yourself, if you will, for within fifteen days after the death of the king you also shall follow me." At which saying, William, going forth to us who were in the hall, revealed the words in confidence to the archbishop; and, to the astonishment of us all, the archbishop narrated the same things on the way, after he had visited the sick man. But some of those who heard these things passed them over with laughter, as if they were wandering and ridiculous speeches, rather than serious words; but some, quietly weighing the matter in their minds, and carefully

[1] A.D. 1189. [2] 2 Kings xix. 36, 37.

[3] See Dugd. Baron. i. 255.

noting the times and the events which followed, saw everything shortly after completely fulfilled by what happened, as it had been predicted.[1]

CHAP. XV.—HOW THE EMPEROR FREDERIC, IN THE MEANTIME, VALIANTLY AND WITHOUT DELAY SET OUT TO FULFIL THE VOW OF THE CROSS, AND OF HIS GOING TO THE HOLY LAND, AS HE HAD UNDERTAKEN.

IN the meantime,[2] the Roman emperor Frederic having made all necessary and splendid preparations for so great an undertaking, as he had first resolved, began his journey without delay on the feast of Saint Gregory, and set forth, accompanied by many thousands of armed men. But oh that our princes, when they undertook this expedition, had been found worthy to set out with the good-will of the people and with the popular applause; with provisions for the way justly gained, and not extorted by unfair means; with open and liberal, and not with a covetous hand; and with a conscience pure and cleansed by penitence, and altogether free from jealousy and arrogance! Oh, how would I rather they had begun their toilsome journey with fewer men, and those pleasing to God, so that they had these qualifications, than without them to grow proud in this contest from their many immense treasures of money, which, though heaped up from every quarter, and from an infinite multitude of different nations, yet neither were they unanimous, nor in concord with each other.

Accompanied, therefore, by these four other individuals above named, as it was believed, the emperor Frederic, by a praiseworthy speed, showed himself the first in the execution of the work, although he was the last of the Cisalpine princes in taking the cross, and was one who assuredly not only rendered himself worthy of a more abundant reward in heaven, but also of glory on earth; inasmuch as, with a courageous constancy, he did not pass over his first appointed time, but left his ample possessions, and laid aside the care of so great an empire.

CHAP. XVI.—OF THE VISION ABOUT THE MATTER OF THE CROSS, WHICH HE SAW WHO WROTE THESE THINGS, AND THE EXPLANATION OF THE VISION.

MOREOVER, I have not thought it beside my purpose plainly to unfold here the vision[3] about the wretchedness of this our time, and the reproach of the cross of Christ, which He who sometimes has made known to babes what He has hidden from the wise revealed to me, who am a most miserable sinner and the least of His servants, and yet was visited by this vision from the Lord. Accordingly, during that intestine and very detestable discord between the king and the count of Poictou, being in company with the king at the castle of Chinon, on the sixth of the ides of May [10th May], in the night, in my sleep, and somewhere about the first cock-crowing, I seemed to see a multitude of persons looking towards the heaven, in astonishment at some-

[1] Extracts from Beda and St. Augustine here follow.
[2] This passage again occurs in the Hibernia Expugnata, p. 802.
[3] See Hibernia Expugnata, p. 802.

thing new; therefore, raising my eyes, and looking with wonder at what it might be, amidst some thick clouds I saw the splendour of the most brilliant light; and immediately the clouds being separated from each other, as if this lower heaven was partly opened there, by the sight of the eyes penetrating through this window even as far as the empyreal, the celestial court appeared, in a large multitude, every kind of arms being arranged in it on every side, suited for pillage, and as if exposed to the enemy for the purpose of slaying. You might see a head cut off from one by the sword, and an arm from another; some you might see attacked from a distance with darts, others with spears, and with swords hand to hand, and others thrust through with daggers. And when many of those who beheld these things had fallen upon their faces to the earth, either on account of the unusual brightness, or by reason of their terror, or reverence for the things which they saw, I seemed to myself to look at everything longer and more carefully than the others did, in order that I might see the end of the matter. The victory then having been, as it were, gained over all the others in a short time, bloody executioners in a body attack the Prince of the celestial host, who was sitting, as He is usually represented, in the midst of His own people and in His majesty—and dragging Him from the throne with their right hands, with His breast bare as far as the navel, they thrust through His right side with a spear. And immediately a very terrible voice followed in this manner: "Woth, woth, the Father and the Son! woth, woth, the Holy Spirit!" but whether the voice proceeded from above, or was uttered by the people standing round, I am unable to say. And so, at length, the terror of this voice as well as of the vision shook off all sleep from me, and I awoke.

Accordingly, I called upon that witness to whom all things are naked and open, since, sitting as I was on my bed, and anxiously revolving these things in my own mind, so great and vehement a horror both of body and soul seized upon me for more than half-an-hour, that I almost feared that my senses had left me, and that I was beside myself. Nevertheless, with most earnest devotion I had recourse to that one only refuge for man's salvation, and, to fortify myself, I very frequently signed the sign of the cross, both on my forehead and on my breast, and I passed the remainder of the night, even to the morning, without sleep; and so, by the help of divine grace, returning to myself, I was restored to my usual quiet state of mind. But never have I, even to this day, been able to recal this vision to my mind without great horror. For what can be more terrible than for a creature to behold his Creator pierced with a sword? Who could see the citizens of heaven, or those belonging to the house of God, or the patrons of men, dragged to slaughter, and behold it undisturbed and unmoved? Who, I say, could behold the Lord himself of nature, and the Creator of the universe, suffer, and not suffer with Him?

But what this vision may mean, and what it may portend, I will explain in as few words as I can, and free from prejudice. He who formerly in His own person suffered for His own, now again

signifies that He suffers, but it is in His own; and He who by the triumph of the cross ascended to the right hand of the Father, and as a conqueror entered into His kingdom, they now having become His enemies, war against Him in the head, and endeavour to take away His kingdom, to deprive Him of His majesty, and to subvert the church which He purchased by shedding His own blood. And for this reason, as I imagine, this suffering appeared not on the cross but in His majesty, as though the cross being destroyed and removed out of the way, His enemies strive to take away the glory of that majesty which He had gained for Himself on the cross; or rather, as His faithful servants have not suffered now on the cross, but in arms, and the contest of war in that Holy Land, which He consecrated with His own blood after so many and great mysteries by His bodily presence; so He Himself has willed that suffering of His, which in His own He in a certain manner sustains where He reigns with the Father in majesty, not to be declared on the cross, but amidst arms and the tumult of war. As, also, He testified that He would suffer in Peter, by the same kind of punishment by which Peter should suffer at Rome, and saying Himself, "I go to Rome to be crucified again." Therefore, He represented the whole of that celestial court as put to death by a like slaughter, and as suffering with Himself, wishing that His own servants should be roused to take vengeance by the display of so mournful a sight. But concerning that voice, which began in a barbarian language and ended in the Latin tongue, I will explain what it seems to me to mean: "Woth, woth," is an interjection of grief in the Teutonic language, and is here doubled; the sound is therefore the same as if it were said, "Alas! alas! the Father and the Son; alas! alas! the Holy Spirit." I do not discuss the reason of their being joined together, only that the meaning of the sentence may appear.

But that the mournful lamentation began in the Teutonic language and ended in the Latin, amidst so many different kinds of languages, this can signify that the injury inflicted on the Saviour seems a calamity to their prince, and to those who speak the German and Latin tongues, more than to the rest of the various nations of the world; as in fact the haste to take vengeance shows. But God forbid that the passion or lamentation should be understood of the future slaughter of the faithful, and especially of those same people who are engaged in going forth upon this expedition!

The reader,[1] therefore, may see after what manner I more indistinctly expressed what I feared might result from the nature of the vision, since that I least of all wished; but, nevertheless, I purposely have not left the matter untouched. Moreover, it appeared after the event, and there was too much notorious evidence, that the mournful lamentation in the two languages had not reference to the past slaughter of this people, as I at first expounded it, but rather to their future lamentable destruction along with their

[1] "The Hibernia Expugnata of Giraldus was written in the year 1187. The remarks which now follow upon the above narrative belong to a subsequent period, as the reader will easily perceive."—*Brewer.*

leader. For the emperor Frederic, as he was strenuous and brave in arms, and delighted to walk in no path except with bloodshed, (since whoever refuses much gives all to him who possesses arms,) having quietly passed through the kingdom of Hungary, confounded the strong, and by his power cleared away all difficulties, by destroying their cities and their fortresses, through the territories of the Greeks, who from their ancient jealousy of rule offered everywhere opposition to him. But since the imperial majesty rushes on to assault no one except a traitor, but proclaims war always to his enemies, the emperor, before he began his journey, had already sent to Saladin ambassadors and letters of defiance, denouncing contempt and animosity to the fullest extent against him, unless he should give satisfaction for the injuries which he had inflicted upon the christian religion. These letters, together with the letter of Saladin in reply, I have here been careful to insert in the same words in which they were written; so that from the former, the courageous boldness of the emperor is declared, whilst from the latter are evident the pride and presumption of the tyrant.

CHAP. XVII.—OF THE ANIMOSITY OF THE EMPEROR, AND HIS CONTEMPTUOUS LETTER SENT TO SALADIN.

"FREDERIC,[1] by the grace of God emperor of the Romans, always Augustus, and the magnificent conqueror of the enemies of the empire, and the fortunate ruler of the whole monarchy, to Saladin, the governor of the Saracens, once an illustrious man, but ordained to fly from Jerusalem after the example of Pharaoh.

"As it became the magnificence of our majesty, in many times past we have received the letters of your devotedness to us which were forwarded to us about arduous affairs, and which would have been to your advantage if good faith had accompanied your words; wherefore we have thought it worthy of us to counsel your greatness by the exhortations of our letters. But now, since you have profaned the Holy Land, which we govern by the empire of the eternal King, in right of our presidency over the inhabitants of Palestine in Judæa and Samaria, our imperial solicitude admonishes us to decree with due severity against the audacity of so great wickedness, which is presumptuous, and deserves punishment. Wherefore, unless you first of all restore the land of Judæa, Samaria, and Palestine, which you have seized upon; and in addition to this, give satisfaction for such wicked excesses, according to the penalty fixed by the holy constitutions, that we may not seem to wage less than a just war; from the first of November in the year of our Lord's incarnation one thousand one hundred and eighty-eight, after the space of a year is past, we have fixed the limit for trying the fortune of war in the plain of Taneos, by virtue of the life-giving cross, and in the name of the true Joseph. For we can scarcely believe that this recent occurrence is unknown to you, from the writings of the ancients and from the old histories of our own time.

[1] Other copies are to be found in Diceto, p. 640; Hoved. f. 370, b.

Do you pretend not to know that Æthiopia in both parts, Mauritania, Persia, Syria, Parthia, where Marcus Crassus, our dictator, met his premature death, Judæa, Samaria near the sea, Arabia, Chaldæa, and Egypt itself, where, alas, Antony (a Roman citizen, and a man endued with illustrious virtue, wanting the grace of that temperance which ought to have distinguished a soldier sent forth in such an exalted position) became the slave of an unlawful passion for Cleopatra? Can you pretend not to know that all these countries, and Armenia, and innumerable other territories, are subject to our power? Monarchs have known this, by whose blood Roman swords have too often and deeply been dyed; and you also, in the trial of affairs, if God help us, shall know what our victorious eagles; what the cohorts of different nations; what the Teutonic rage taking up arms in peace; what the unconquered source of the Rhine; what the youth of the Danube, who have never known flight; what the tall Bavarian; what the crafty Suevan; what cautious Franconia; what provident and talented England; what Scotland; what Wales; what Saxony, delighting in war; what Thuringia; what restless Burgundy; what Westphalia; what the active Brabant; what Lorrain, knowing not peace; what the swift-footed dwellers on the Alps; what Friesland, hurling the javelin; what Bohemia, willingly meeting death; what Poland, fiercer than its own wild beasts; what Austria; what Stiria; what Ruwenia; what the parts of Illyricum; what Lombardy; what Tuscany; what the territory of Ancona; what the despised Venetian; what the Pisan shipowner; in short, what our own arm, which you allege to be weakened by age, can effect in wielding the sword, that day already reproachfully spoken of by you, shall teach you, full as it will be of reverence and joyfulness by the triumph of Christ."

CHAP. XVIII.—THE REPLY OF SALADIN, AND THE LETTER IN ANSWER DIRECTED BY HIM TO THE EMPEROR.

"To that sincere, friendly, great, and exalted monarch, Frederic, king of Germany, in the name of God, one who is merciful, and by his grace, powerful, pre-eminent, victorious, eternal, of whose kingdom there shall be no end.

"We give continual thanks to Him whose grace is over the whole world. We entreat Him that he would pour out His spirit of prayer upon his prophets, and especially upon our instructor, His messenger, Mahomet, the prophet, whom He sent to correct that righteous law which he shall make to appear above all laws. We make known to you, king of Germany, as a sincere, powerful, great monarch, one who is a friend and friendly towards us, that a certain man, by name Henry, has come to us, saying that he is your ambassador, and has brought to us a certain writing which he affirmed to be yours: we have caused that writing to be read, and we have heard him speak thereupon, and to the words which he said, we have replied by words also; but this is our answer to the writing. That if you reckon up those who with you agree to come upon us, and name them, saying, the king of such a land, and the

king of another land, and such a count, and such archbishops, and marquises, and knights; and if we would wish to enumerate those who are in our service, and who are endeavouring to fulfil our command, and are ready to listen to our word, and would engage in battle with their troops before us, this cannot be reduced to writing. And if you reckon up the names of Christians, there are more and abundantly more of Saracens than of Christians. And if between you and those Christians whom you have named there is a space of sea; between the Saracens, whose number cannot be estimated, and ourselves there is no sea, nor any impediment, to prevent their coming to us. And with us there are Bedouins who would be sufficient, if we should oppose them to our enemies, and Turcomans, to destroy them, if we should pour them forth on our enemies; and there are our peasantry, who would fight strenuously, if we should order them, against the nations who would come upon our land, and would be enriched by their spoils, and would exterminate them. And how we have with us warlike sultans, by whose power we possess the open country which is gained and our enemies subdued; and all these most pagan kings will not loiter when we shall have summoned them, nor will they delay when we shall have called them. And when, as your letter states, you shall have been gathered together, leading a multitude, as your ambassador declares, through the power of God we will meet you; nor shall your territory which is near the sea be sufficient for us, but by God's will we will pass through, and by the strength of God we will take possession of all your territories. For if you should come, you will come with all your power, and you will be present with all your nation, and we know that in your land there will remain no one who can defend himself or protect the land; and when God shall have given us the victory over you by His strength, there will be nothing more for us to do than, by His power and will, to take possession at once of your territories. For the united force of the christian law twice came upon us in Babylon, once at Damascus, and a second time at Alexandria; and the parts nearest to the sea of the land of Jerusalem were in the hands of the Christians; and in the land of Damascus, and in the land of the Saracens, and in each of the fortified places, there were those who afforded them assistance. You know how the Christians turned back in each case, and to what an issue things came, and these our own nations, together with their coasts, were filled with them, and God united to us regions more abundantly, and reduced them far and wide into our power; and Babylon, with the parts belonging to it, and the land of Damascus, and the sea-coast of the land of Jerusalem, and the land of Gesira, and its fortified places, and the land of Roasia, with the parts appertaining to it, and the region of India, with the parts belonging to it; and by the grace of God, this whole territory is in our hands, and the rest of the Saracen kingdom of the Saracens obeys our empire. For if we should command the most excellent kings of the Saracens, they would not draw themselves back from us, and if we should summon the caliph of Baldach (whom God preserve!) to come to us from the seat of his exalted empire, he

would arise and hasten to the assistance of our excellency; and by the help of God we have obtained the power of Jerusalem and his land; and the three cities of Tyre, Tripoli, and Antioch remain still in the hands of the Christians, nor is there any reason why they should not be taken possession of.

But if you wish war, and if God shall so have willed it, that by His good pleasure we should acquire the whole territory of the Christians, by God's help we will meet you as it is written in our letter. But if you shall seek from us the blessing of peace, you will order the governors of the three aforesaid places that they give them up to us without opposition; and we will restore you the holy cross, and will set free all christian captives who are in all our land, and will permit you to have one priest at the sepulchre, and will restore the abbeys which were wont to exist in the time of paganism, and will do good to them, and will permit foreigners to come during the whole of our life, and we will maintain peace with you. But if the writing which came to us by the hands of Henry already named be the writing of the king, we have written this letter for an answer; and by His will, may God encourage us to execute His counsel!

"This letter was written in the five hundred and eighty-fourth year of the coming of our prophet Mahomet by God's grace alone."

This impertinent epistle of the proud and unbelieving tyrant the magnificent emperor despised, and feeling anger worthy of a prince, with his whole heart ardently longed for war. His march, with its labours and difficulties, and its fortunate and unfortunate accidents, as well as its lamented termination, we have thought it a worthy task to declare, since they are explained with such historical truth, and set forth in so clear a style, and with the most exquisite skill.[1] But that this may appear more fully and clearly, we will begin from those circumstances which we have anticipated concerning his passage through Hungary, and also from a period somewhat more remote.

CHAP. XIX.—HOW THE EMPEROR BEGAN HIS MARCH THROUGH HUNGARY; AND HAVING PASSED THE DANUBE THROUGH BULGARIA, HE CAME INTO MACEDONIA.

THE chief men of the whole empire followed the emperor, and one and all at the same time, at Mayence, where they had assembled according to the imperial edict, proclaimed their wish for so illustrious an expedition. That was effected by the Lord, who breathes where He will, and inclines the hearts of all according to His good pleasure. For such great princes are not prepared for war, allured by a desire of vain-glory, nor induced by money, nor excited by entreaties, but through God and for His sake, and only by a desire of a heavenly reward, that ancient and inexorable hatred which the Greeks had long ago conceived against the Latins the tenacious succession of times has transferred to their posterity. But if the origin and reason of this hatred be sought, it would not be a fault

[1] Giraldus here alludes to the History of Vinesauf, from whose work the following details are selected and abridged, as far as the end of Chap. XXIII.

if it wanted not reason; this, however, we are able, without hesitation, to bring forward as the cause, that whereas the Latins equally flourish in literature and arms, the others behold themselves altogether ignorant and unwarlike; and hence, having taken up the cause of their hatred, they pine away with envy at the good fortune of others: a faithless nation, a wicked and altogether degenerate race, which is now the more signally contemptible, inasmuch as it was formerly more illustrious; for their gold has become dross, their wheat has been turned into chaff, their purity into filth, their glory into confusion. The ancient Greeks attempted many exploits in arms, and pursued many studies; but all that fervour of virtue has grown cold in their posterity, and has migrated to the Latin world; that they who before were fountains are now rivulets, or rather dry and exhausted channels. If, indeed, of their virtues there is no successor, there are numerous followers of the crimes of their ancestors; for they retain the fictions of Sinon, the deceit of Ulysses, and the atrocity of Atreus. But if the manner of war of the Greek is sought after, he fights by artifice, not by arms; if we ask for his faith, as a friend he is injurious, as an enemy he is harmless. That nation, when they could not prevent the march of our army in the above-mentioned places, did what they could. All disgracefully made their way to the mountains, they took away the comforts which might have been purchased, and for those who came they left empty houses, for they had removed all their furniture.

CHAP. XX.—OF THE AMBASSADORS WHO WERE SENT OVER TO THE GREEK EMPEROR, AND WHO WERE AT FIRST TAKEN PRISONERS AND DETAINED, BUT WHO AFTERWARDS, THROUGH FEAR, WERE SET FREE; AND HOW A MARKET FOR THE SALE OF PROVISIONS WAS GRANTED.

THE emperor, indeed, had before sent the bishop of Munster, with some other princes, to Constantinople, under the pledge of peace; but that most wicked and cruel tyrant thrust them into prison, nor dreaded to violate the peaceful character of an ambassador, which even amongst barbarians antiquity has established, of which custom approves, and honesty commends. But soon after, influenced rather by fear than by any perception of justice, he set free the ambassadors whom he had bound; for he dreaded the destruction of the royal city if he had not very quickly propitiated us for the offence he had committed. It would have been a worthy exploit, in truth, if that city had been thrown down and levelled with the ground; for if report is to be believed, it was polluted by new idols, which the perfidious emperor had permitted to be made, that according to his bond he might confirm the treaty which he had sworn and entered into with the Turks. Moreover, the summer was much advanced and was verging towards autumn, and the sign of Libra, by a certain equality of times, was balancing the day and night. The emperor of the Romans, the magnificent king, bent his course to Adrianople for the purpose of wintering there; entering which, he found it empty, and deserted by the

inhabitants, and there taking up his station, he awaited the time for resuming his march.

The duke of Suabia, the son of the emperor, fearing lest ease should produce luxury, and luxury cowardice, resolved to give the army some exercise during the winter season; and marching thither, he attacked a certain fortification which was at no great distance from the before-named city. Thither the Greeks came in a body, that, trusting in the strength of the place, they might practise their wiles against the Latins; but they were confounded; for, subdued by a rapid victory, they were conquered, bound, and taken prisoners. As soon as these circumstances were heard of, the prince of Byzantium, apprehending worse things in his mind, and dreading the destruction of the whole empire, quickly sent ambassadors to the emperor, promising hostages for peace, a market for all things necessary, and transports for such as wished to pass over. The emperor was more inclined to accept the offered peace than to put off his design, although very many of his own people thought it vexatious to make peace with the tyrant under any conditions. Easter being now at hand, that narrow sea was passed over, which in common speaking is called the Arm of St. George. This sea, although contracted in a narrower space, is distinguished by no mean glory, since it flows past so great a city, and making a division of the twofold world, gently glides along the coasts of Asia as well as of Europe.

CHAP. XXI.—OF THE DECEIT OF THE SULTAN OF ICONIUM, AND OF THE WHOLE OF HIS LAND PENETRATED THROUGH BY ARMS AND WANT, BY MANY DANGERS, AND ALMOST CONTINUAL WARS; A WAY BEING PREPARED BY THE COURAGE AND BRAVE CONDUCT OF OUR TROOPS, AND BY A GREAT SLAUGHTER OF THE ENEMY.

THE sultan of Iconium, a crafty man, and one who thirsted for the blood of the Christians, under a certain deceitful pretext pretending friendship with our people, in order that, concealing the malignant poison of his mind, he might destroy them if he could unawares, having sent ambassadors more than once to the emperor, when he was as yet continuing in Greece, urged him that he would not delay to come to him. He accused the Greeks and their prince of deceit, promising that he would be devoted and faithful to the Christians; and he affirmed that if they would come he would offer them both his territories and his people, and would afford them all both a market for purchasing what they needed, and a safe passage. But the emperor, more credulous than prudent, and measuring the professions of others by his own sincerity, commanded all, under a penalty, that when they entered the territories of the Turks they should not plunder anything, but scrupulously observe the peace upon which they had agreed. Thus, therefore, it happened that our troops in passing through left altogether untouched the greatest booty which the sultan had purposely left at the very entrance into his kingdom. Alas! the mind of man, but ignorant is it of the future! for if they had known beforehand the hunger they would endure, the difficulties

of the march, and the treachery of the tyrant, they would have availed themselves of the circumstances by which to provide for themselves; they, I say, over whom so great peril was now hanging, and near at hand. But our nation had never so much faith in the words of an infidel prince, as from any neglect or too much security to march in disorder and unarmed.

When about to enter Parthia they all took arms, the number of whom were three thousand knights and about eighty thousand of the others. There were amongst them seven bishops, one archbishop, two dukes, nineteen counts, and three marquises; and this array of battle was so noble, that nothing was seen like it at the first or afterward. And, lest sedition and disorder should disturb so large a mass of people, the whole army was divided into three parts. The first was under the care of the duke of Suabia, the last was commanded by the emperor, and the middle division was entrusted to the chief officers, and it had the care of the baggage. At length, however, after many and grievous insults, they arrived at Iconium, where that wicked traitor had shut himself up within the fortifications of the city; but our army pitched their tents at no great distance, being altogether ignorant what hostility the next day might threaten. During the night, when the solemnity of Pentecost was almost past, so heavy and vehement a torrent of rain fell that the violence of the storm raged even within the entrenchment lines of the camp; but when the morning appeared, the clouds having passed away, the air was more clear and pure; and behold immediately, with trumpets and drums, and a horribly-sounding clang, the Turkish army was near at hand, dispersed about on every side, greater than was ever seen, or believed to have been seen before; for although they could not be counted, wherever they were surveyed they were estimated at more than three hundred thousand. The whole of this multitude Melkin, the son of the sultan, had excited to arms, wishing beforehand to seize upon the honour of the victory from his father-in-law, Saladin; at the same time feeling sure of triumph, as well as confident in the number and valour of his soldiers. In the meantime, the sultan, ascending to the top of a certain tower, sat upon the watch, from whence he beheld in the broad fields beneath him his army about to engage in battle, hoping on the morrow to accomplish the success which in his mind he had promised himself.

But the emperor, when he perceived some of his own soldiers trembling at such an unusual multitude of the enemy, showed the confidence of a noble-minded prince; and with his hands raised to heaven in the sight of all, he gave thanks to God, that now the inevitable necessity of battle was at hand, which the flight of the enemy had even to this time kept in suspense. All were inspired at his words with a vehement ardour, when they beheld the face of the emperor beaming with joy; the young from an old man, the strong from the weak,—the whole army received an incentive to valour from one individual. Who is so great a God as our God? All that multitude, of late so sure of victory as rather to bring chains to bind their captives than to unsheath their swords to slay

them, yielded in a moment; and at the same time both the city was taken and the enemy outside the walls was totally defeated. On both sides there was slaughter; bloodshed was everywhere; on every quarter heaps of weapons; the density prevents flight; and their numbers, in which they boasted, were a hindrance. Now the battle was closely fought, they contended hand to hand; bows were broken, arrows did not fly; there was scarcely room for the swords: thus their multitude confused everything, and advanced the glory of our soldiers, for the enemy had arrayed themselves for destruction. The flying fight which hitherto had been waged amongst the thorn bushes, and amidst the defiles of the rocks, was now carried on in a more open space. The Christians satiate their anger, which so often had burnt in vain. The Turks unwillingly experience what those enemies can do, fighting hand to hand, whom they provoked at a distance. The divine goodness not unworthily bestowed victory upon the faithful; for there was chastity in the camp, discipline in arms, in all and before all the fear of the Lord, in the heart of every one the love of his neighbour; all were as unanimous in paternal affection as they were equally partners in danger.

When the city was taken, and the sultan perceived only one defence to which he could betake himself, he immediately sent ambassadors to the emperor, throwing all the blame upon his son, and asserting that he himself was entirely innocent; and he promised gold to any amount which might be required, and that he would give hostages, as many in number and rank as he might command, for the faithful observance of the treaty of peace. The emperor, too easy, alas! took what was offered, and granted what was asked: he is not to be praised in this deed, for he pardoned a bloody and deceitful man, who was almost a captive in his hands; and it was more worthy of honour to destroy than to preserve unharmed so great an enemy of the Christian name. But even when hostages had been given, and a firm treaty of peace had been made, the impiety of the malignant traitor was not set at rest; for, when the Christians were pursuing their march at a greater distance from Iconium, he continued to attack them; at one time from an ambush, at another in the open country. When the hostages were questioned what these attacks meant, they invented an answer advantageous to themselves, and asserted a lie; namely, that the Turks are a rude people, who are subject to no proper government, who wander about without any fixed dwelling; and who, having nothing of their own, pursue and seize upon the possessions of other people, either by rapine or theft. But they attacked us in fewer numbers, not unmindful how many of their people had already fallen; for, according to a moderate calculation, in the former wars not less than twenty-two thousand Turks had perished by the destroying sword.

But now the victorious army entered the boundaries of Armenia; and all rejoiced that, having passed through the hostile kingdom, they could now settle in security in the territories of the faithful. But, alas! a more mournful land presents itself, which extinguishes

the joy and light of all. Man would draw near with a high heart, and if he could would search into the counsels of the Lord, whose many judgments are an unfathomable deep. He will sometimes meet with that which will astonish and trouble him, but that in everything he shall know that he may repose confidence in the Author of all.

CHAP. XXII.—HOW THE EMPEROR, ALAS! WAS DROWNED IN A CERTAIN RIVER OF ARMENIA, AND LOST AFTER SO MANY VICTORIES; AND HOW HIS GREAT ARMY WAS REDUCED TO NOTHING AT ANTIOCH, AND BY ABUNDANCE FOLLOWING UPON WANT, IRREMEDIABLY DISPERSED.

THERE was a place in the interior of Armenia, which is contracted on the one side by lofty rocks, and on the other by the river Sclef, which flows past; here the victorious emperor took his stand, whilst the chief officers of his army and the baggage were passing over. This illustrious individual was a man of moderately high stature, with red hair, a tawny beard, sprinkled with grey on both sides; his eyebrows were prominent; his eyes were fiery; his cheeks somewhat short, and more amply extended; his breast and shoulders were broad, and spread out; in other respects also, the description of his body represents a manly form; for in him shone forth something remarkable and astonishing, such as we read of Socrates. His countenance expressed firmness of mind, always remaining the same, and immovable; not being rendered more gloomy by grief, nor contracted by anger, nor relaxed by joy. But so great was his veneration for his native tongue of Germany, that, although he was not ignorant of other tongues, yet he would never speak to foreign ambassadors except through an interpreter. When this great man had waited for a very long time on account of the baggage-horses which were passing over the river, the delay at length occasioned weariness; and, desirous of hastening the passage, he resolved to cross the part of the river which was nearest to him, in order that, having passed at the head of the sumpter-horses, he might proceed on his march. Oh sea! oh earth! oh heaven! he, the ruler of the Roman empire, the perpetual emperor, through whom the glory of ancient Rome flourished again, its honour revived, its power increased—he, alas! perished, being cut off by the waters; and although on both sides, and from every quarter, assistance was quickly rendered, yet a sudden and premature death extinguished the feeble spark of an aged life; and if, as some assert, an eager desire of swimming is said to have been the cause of his death, the weight of his body itself leads to a contrary opinion; nor does it seem credible that a feeble swimmer, such as he was, would have trusted the safety of such great events to the treacherous waters. Conscience is witness that his death is itself a subject of less anxiety than the manner of his death. But this comes in to afford us comfort, that as it is written we read, "By whatever death he may have been seized unawares, the just shall be at rest." [1]

But the worshippers of Christ, when they arrived at Antioch,

[1] See Wisd. iv. 7.

after many and long fasts, indulging too voraciously in food, were choked by a sudden repletion; and thus an ill-omened peace destroyed, and a pernicious satiety put an end to, those whom neither an enemy nor hunger had overcome. So when the greater part of so numerous an army had perished by this disgraceful occurrence, very many of the rest returned; a small portion, who were ashamed to revisit their own country, took arms under the son of the emperor, to whom the prince of Antioch entrusted the whole city, and all its fortifications; for, under pretext of obtaining greater protection, of their own accord they determined to commit the custody of the city to the duke, that, being a brave and active man, he might defend its walls against the frequent assaults of the enemy.

CHAP. XXIII.—HOW THE SON OF THE EMPEROR, WITH A PORTION OF THE ARMY (BUT BY FAR THE SMALLER PART), USELESSLY PASSED FROM ANTIOCH TO TYRE, AND FROM TYRE TO ACRE.

NOT long afterwards the duke of Suabia, passing from thence to Tyre, and a little after to Acre, came from Tyre to our army, which was at the same time besieging and being besieged; and in a short space he perished along with the residue of his forces, by the pestilence which fell upon all, through the inclemency of the air, and the unhealthy nature of the country, and also more than all through German intemperance.[1]

CHAP. XXIV.—HOW LE MANS WAS BURNT, AND HENRY EXPELLED FROM IT; AND OF THE HERETICAL SPEECH WHICH HE MADE THEREUPON.

THESE incidents, therefore, having been introduced here, (not without advantage and sufficient reason,) let us return to the order of our history. Accordingly, about the kalends of June, [June 1,] the divine will accelerating vengeance, all the words and conferences about peace between the king of England and the count of Poictou tended not to concord, but to inexorable hatred, and, in consequence hereof, the greater part of the fortified places belonging to Le Mans were destroyed by force of arms; and at length the king of France and the count of Poictou, each together with his army, came to the city of Le Mans itself. When the citizens, therefore, were coming forth, the hostile armies were preparing to engage on either side; and when, in the first instance, by a skirmish they had made a prelude to the battle, before the main body of the army had joined in conflict, the king of England, (as he always avoided a battle if it was in his power,) recalling his own troops within the walls, commanded the whole suburb to be set on fire and burnt, which was almost equal to the city itself, if not in importance yet in grandeur and in the variety of its merchandise; and this he did either to keep the enemy back from the city, or lest it should give them any advantage. But the wind suddenly changed to a contrary direction, although it had hitherto blown from the city, as often happens, and increasing in violence,

[1] The remainder of this chapter is occupied in moralizing upon these disasters; which are chiefly attributed to the schism in which the emperors were living.

carried across the burning fury of the devouring flames immediately into the inner part of the city: and forthwith the fire increased in many quarters, to such a height, that the king with the whole of his forces was compelled to leave the city and go forth; many perishing in the haste of their flight, together with the city itself. Pursued by the French troops and his own son, the king had now fled about two miles from the town, on a certain hill, from whose eminence he could see the burning city, with his face turned towards it; he uttered an impious speech to the following purport, as he had done on another occasion, and not less shamelessly:—"God, since, to complete my confusion and increase my disgrace, Thou hast this day shamefully taken away from me a city which above all in the earth I loved; in which also I was born and brought up; where, also, my father is buried, and the body also of St. Julian lies interred; I, also, will retaliate upon Thee as far as I am able, by taking away from Thee to a certainty what Thou wouldest most love in me." Other things he said which it becomes a prudent person rather to pass over and despise than to express in words.[1]

CHAP. XXV.—HOW THE CITY OF TOURS WAS TAKEN POSSESSION OF BY THE FRENCH, AND HOW KING HENRY WAS SHUT UP IN THE LITTLE TOWN OF AZAI, AND, AS IT WERE, COMPELLED TO SURRENDER THROUGH DIVINE VENGEANCE, AND A DECEPTION, AS IF SENT UPON HIM FROM ABOVE.

BUT at length, the eagerness of the pursuers ceasing, through the fall of the count of Poictou, whose horse was pierced through with a spear of one of the soldiers, the same night the king betook himself to Frênay, and in the morning he went on from thence to Anjou. But, Le Mans being reduced, the army immediately approached Tours, and as though urging on its fortune with furious impetuosity, and following up its successes, forthwith took by assault, with all its armed forces, the noble city of Tours.

When these occurrences were happening, and a conference was appointed between the kings, not far from a small town in Tours, the name of which was Azay,[2] on the sixth day of the week, being the same day on which they were to meet at Azay, the king of England lay seized by a severe and deadly fever. But the king of France and the count Poictou, having no faith in this sickness, and moreover thinking that, according to the usual manner of the king, it was feigned and deceitful, they, on the morrow, surrounded the before-named town on all sides with immense forces. This being done, at the instance of the king of England, who wished as yet to try the advantage of peace, he summoned into the camp his kinsmen, the archbishop of Rheims, and the counts Philip of Flanders and Theobald of Blois, with certain others. But the king of France seeing that God and his own prosperous fortune had delivered his enemy into his hands, would not listen to any word of peace until the king of England should in everything altogether

[1] Giraldus here contrasts the conduct of Henry with that of Tobit, and then quotes several passages from the Bible and the Fathers.

[2] Between Tours and Chinon.

submit himself to his mercy; but he promised that he would do this, saving his own honour, and the crown and dignity of his kingdom. But the king of France replied, that he must do it simply and without any conditions; nor that there would be any safety for him, unless he was willing to be saved by his clemency. And this also was done accordingly; for necessity has no laws; although it was brought about after many disputes, and the goings backward and forward of ambassadors, and not without the greatest inward grief and indignation, which aggravated the king's distemper.

Behold how long-suffering and patient the Lord is; but, at the last, He is a most severe avenger: for formerly, when the illustrious archbishop Thomas of Canterbury was in banishment, in almost all the conferences which took place between himself and the king of England, to bring on a reconciliation between them, Louis, then the most Christian king of the French, using his frequent exertions for that purpose, he always placed a similar difficulty in their way when they contended for the blessings of peace. For Henry, the king of England, wished that, in the first place, before any word was said about peace, to subject the archbishop entirely to his own mercy. But he, full of God, and abounding in divine grace, consented to do this, saving the honour of God, and the dignity of his order, and also the liberty of the church over which he presided, and on no other conditions. But the king altogether scorned this conclusion of the matter with obstinate malice; publicly protesting that he would not in any degree admit any dubiously worded expression in the language of the archbishop.

The attentive reader, therefore, may remark in what way the divine justice, adapting his own deceit to a similar instance in point, and visiting him with retribution, did not secure safety for a man who refused to grant safety to the honour of God and of the holy church, and yet in the hour of need similarly sought for the safety of himself and of the honour of his royal crown. The reader may also here remark, that as that king, by misgoverning himself, ceased not to persecute his spiritual father, the archbishop of Canterbury, even to a temporal death; so, through the unerring justice of divine vengeance, his own sons in the flesh followed their carnal father with persecution even to the death of the body, and I would that it might not be even to death eternal.

Here also it seems to be noted, what indeed I have thought very worthy of remark, that in a certain colloquy between the before-named kings of France and England, at Montmartre, not far from the city of Paris, where king Louis, as usual, laboured earnestly, though without effect, to bring about a reconciliation between king Henry, who then had come to St. Denys under a pretence of travelling abroad, and archbishop Thomas, who was also at that time there, and had been summoned thither for this purpose; when at last a reconciliation was not brought about, and king Henry returned, Philip, the son and heir of king Louis, then a boy of about seven years of age, who for the sake of honour travelled about with his father, addressed king Henry in some such words as the following:—"In my father's behalf I entreat you, O king, that you would

love him more than usual, and being faithful to him, that you would desist from harassing him. For assuredly all may know, that whoever shall presume to molest him in this his old age shall find me, by God's grace, an avenger most hostile to himself when occasion shall offer itself and the time shall come." Wonderful forethought, indeed, in a boy! a wonderful proof, moreover, of innate future probity and courage, and a promise made as if warned by a prophetic spirit! For these things, thought of beforehand, and promised as though by the law of retributive vengeance, were carried out with powerful effect, when even in his tender years, against a prince of great power as well as riches, by such wonderful events as soon afterwards came to pass in the next few following years.

This also I have esteemed worthy of notice, how the spirit of this younger child of this same king was aroused by the Lord a second time in the following manner. In a certain conference held near Gisors between the kings already named, where Philip the son of Louis was then present with his father, (being then about twelve years of age,) when many of the French were very attentively surveying the fortress opposite, and with much admiration praised its beauty and strength, which lately were increased to an immense extent, and how beautifully it had been built up on high with Parian[1] marble, and with lofty towers, and difficult of access—the aforesaid boy, to the admiration of all, declared in this great audience, "You greatly commend the structure of those stones, and," proceeding, "by the faith," says he, "which I owe to my father, I wish that every one of these stones were silver, or gold, or the most precious jewels, only so that no one except myself knew that or could know it unless through me;" and when all were not a little astonished at this speech of the boy, he added, "You need not wonder at this, because the more rich and valuable this town should become, the more dearly should I esteem it whenever it should come into my possession." But, behold with how great confidence of so great and powerful and excellent a prince, this boy, almost contrary to the expectation of all, as if with a prophetic spirit and with a certain presumption expected that these riches and this town would some time or other fall into his own hands.

We have also determined to add this expression of his, which he used when he was a king and had grown up, and which is very similar to the former one. When in that great war which was carried on between himself and king Richard of England, after the death of their respective fathers, he came to the fortress of Andely, which had been very lately constructed with extraordinary magnificence by king Richard on a rock, and was remarkable to behold; whilst the French were looking at the castle and praising it, he openly said in the hearing of all, and, moreover, positively asserted with an oath, that he wished the town was altogether made of iron; being confident as before, and as if, indeed, entertaining a most certain hope of subduing Normandy, and of subjugating it to his power as well as the whole of Aquitaine. Moreover, when

[1] Giraldus elsewhere explains this as meaning Freestone; see Itin. Camb. p. 832, ed. Camd.

afterwards this speech had been related to king Richard, who was a man of too much arrogance and of immense courage, he burst forth into these words, in the hearing of many of his soldiers: "By God's throat," said he, (for he was accustomed to swear by these and similar enormous oaths,) "if the whole of this fortress were made of butter, and not either of iron or of stone, I should feel no doubt whatever that I could well and truly defend it against him and all his forces." But since, by this insolent speech, he neither sought for nor wished the help of God, but had rashly presumed to ascribe the whole defence to his own arm, and to his own powers alone, when a very few years had passed, the thing happened contrary to his own wish and haughty declaration, and king Philip prevailed over him and took possession of the place which we have mentioned.

But, that we may bring forward here as an example a case not unlike this, we have not thought it beside the question to insert a passage taken from our Itinerary.[1] From the rocks of St. David's, when the weather is serene, the mountains of Ireland are visible; for the Irish channel, which lies between them, is navigable within the space of a single day. From thence William, surnamed Rufus, the son of William the bastard, and the second king of England, of the Norman race, courageously penetrating into Wales, and surrounding it with his forces, when by chance he beheld Ireland from those rocks, is said to have exclaimed, "In addition to what I have done I will make a bridge of my ships gathered together here, and will go over and attack that land;" which speech being reported to Murdhac, the lord of Leinster in Ireland, then a prince, when he had thought attentively upon it for some little time, he is reported to have replied, "When the king made this threat did he not add, 'if it shall please God?'" And when he heard that in this speech the king had not made the slightest mention of God, as if rejoicing in this most sure prognostic, he exclaimed, "Since that man trusts so much to human power and not to divine, I have no fear of his coming."

But this added to the glory and praise, and the future good fortune, of the aforesaid Philip, king of France, that even as soon as he saw the light and was born, and when he was yet lying in his cradle, the more remote Saracen kings of Spain sent their ambassadors into France with royal presents and costly gifts, esteeming him alike worthy of being visited and revered. And they were most earnestly desirous of entering into an alliance with him, inasmuch as they had learnt from the oracles of their prophets that their country would be invaded either by himself or by some one of his family; and they vowed to be faithful to him, and entreated peace for themselves and for their countrymen; and moreover, as if not without good reason, looking forward to an indemnity for their country and themselves, they were careful to get their names enrolled in the royal records and memorial writings at St. Denys.

But an evident proof, and by no means a weak argument, that this prophecy rests upon truth, and at some future time shall be

[1] See Itin. Camb. p. 858, ed. Camd.

fulfilled, is drawn from hence :—that the three western kingdoms, (or four, that I may so speak by way of anticipation,) namely, England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, together with the abundance of their riches, and the great number of their insular fleets, and the power of the royal sway increased to an immense extent,—a way being prepared, as though for the increase of the worship of God,—were already expected, by God's grace, to be completely placed in subjection to the said king and his heirs.

Moreover, a vision which a certain brother of Vincennes saw a short time before the birth of the said king Philip, and who was a sincere, upright, and religious man, makes also for the argument in favour of his future remarkable greatness ; for he saw a child in his cradle let down from heaven, and lowered in to France, and as if given by God to the French, who most ardently wished a mighty heir for the kingdom. On a sudden, and at once, to the admiration of all men, he increased to the majesty of such a lofty stature, that when the two tall princes, the emperor of Germany and the king of England, were placed at his side, and his hands were laid on their heads, he seemed so to crush them from above to the earth and to press them down, that in a short time very little or nothing of them appeared above the ground. This vision, even in these our own days, truth plainly and sufficiently proved to be correct.

Moreover, I have thought it fitting that, amongst other prognostics, that which happened to the writer of these pages should not be here passed over in silence ; for when, in his earlier years, he was earnestly applying his mind to the liberal studies at Paris, it happened, at the beginning of the time of autumn, at night indeed, and at that hour of the night when all was still and persons were in their first sleep, that, by the grace of God, Philip was born from the womb of his mother. And this news was received, when it was heard through the city, with so great joy that no language can express it ; and immediately, through the extent of the whole city, such a noise and clang of all the bells burst forth, and so great a number of wax-lights were blazing through all the streets, that those who were ignorant of the cause of so great and unusual a sound and tumult, and of so immense a nocturnal illumination, began to think that a conflagration of the city was at hand ; at which also the author of this work, being in the city, and then a young man in the twentieth year of his age, immediately leaped to the window from the couch on which he had stretched himself, and had fallen into his first sleep ; and, looking out, he saw two very poor old women in the street, bearing before them in their hands torches of wax, and exulting with joy in their countenances as well as their voices, and showing the same by every gesture of their whole body, and running about with quick steps, as if meeting and pushing against each other. And when he had inquired of them the cause of such commotion and exultation, one of them immediately looked up at him and replied, " We have now a king given to us by God, and God has given us a very powerful heir to the kingdom, by whom disgrace and loss, punishment and grievous shame, at the same time abundant confusion and sorrow, shall

increase to your king;"—which was the same as if she had openly said, "A child is this night born to us, who assuredly, under the divine favour, shall be a scourge to your king, and who, without doubt, shall curtail the power and domains both of himself and his family." For the woman knew that he to whom she was speaking, and his companions, were sprung from the kingdom of England; and, therefore, against themselves and their king the old woman bitterly uttered this speech, which was as if poured forth by a prophetic spirit, and which in reality was fulfilled, within a short time, with too much truth.

And this also most clearly tends to establish this point, that at the beginning of the reign of this king, when his father, then in the greatest prosperity, was taken away from the affairs of this world, and he himself was as yet in his tender years and but a very young man, had gathered together the army of France at the city of Amiens, against Philip earl of Flanders, who presumed to keep possession of the county of Le Vermandois, (the countess and betrothed heiress of the count having died childless and without an heir,) and when his forces were gathered in a hostile manner, and prepared for battle, the barons of France, knowing, according to the saying of the comic writer, that by a wise man anything will be resorted to rather than arms, with one accord thought it was best to treat for peace. For very many of them, either by entreaty, or bribery, or affection, or relationship, were favourers of the party of the count, who was a man of great energy and of overgrown power. So when the nobles had assembled together to debate about this matter, the king, being a little space apart from them, sat holding in his hand a green hazel twig, gnawing it with his teeth, and looking fiercely around him on all sides; which, when the barons beheld, they remarked with admiration the position of the young man, and his behaviour in this instance; and one of them said that he would give a good horse to the man who would reveal to him the thoughts of the prince. A jester, hearing this, immediately jumped up, and approached the king, and asked and entreated that, by opening to him the thoughts of his mind, he would confer upon him, as if by his gift, the horse which was promised to him upon such a condition. Hereupon the king, who knew him, thus immediately opened the secrets of his heart: "I was revolving this in my mind," he said, "whether God would vouchsafe this favour to me, or to any other king of France at any time, to be able to restore this kingdom into its former state, and to that greatness and extent of territory which it once possessed in the time of Charlemagne." This speech of the king being related to the barons, and the horse having been given immediately according to promise, they all instantly, and with one voice, broke forth into these words, "Perish the man who opposes any impediment to such a prince, and so noble-minded for restoring the ancient rights of the kingdom. With the help of God he shall never fail in obtaining these and his other rights." And thus that noble country of Vermandois, with all its riches and towns, without difficulty or delay, and without any contest, was given up to king

Philip, who then was a very young man, and the powerful detainer of it was humbled.

When these things, and those which we have before named, were completed in this manner, they entered upon the subject of peace; and one was concluded according to the discretion of the French king, and in every respect for the honour of the count of Poictou, but altogether to the disgrace and detriment of the king of England; and they presented the terms of it comprehended in writing for the latter to read and hear. But the first head touched upon was the misery to which he had subjected himself; and secondly, that all those who had joined the count of Poictou against his father, would render their allegiance, and their homage for the holding of their lands, to the son only, and not to the father, unless by their own voluntary act they should perhaps wish to return to him. And when he wished to hear the names read to him, which were written in the schedule, and the first of all was read the name of his own son John, carried as it were beyond himself, and in utter amazement, he started up into a sitting posture on the couch on which he lay, and fiercely looking around him, exclaimed, "Is it true that John, dear to me as my own heart, whom I have loved above all my sons, and for the sake of whose advancement I have endured all these evils, is it true that he has deserted me?" And when he had learnt for certain that it was so, throwing himself back on his bed, and turning his face to the wall, he groaned more deeply, and exclaimed, "For the time to come, let all things take their own course; I no longer care for myself, or for anything in this world." Nevertheless, as they who were present positively assert, nothing so much increased the malignity and violence of his disease, nothing so much accelerated his death, as this sudden and unexpected grief.

CHAP. XXVI.—OF THE PAINTINGS WHICH WERE EXECUTED, AND, LASTLY, OF THE IGNOMINIOUS DEATH OF THE KING WHICH FOLLOWED.

BUT it happened that there was a chamber at Winchester beautiful with various painted figures and colours, and a certain place in it which was left clear by the royal command, where a little time after the king ordered an eagle to be painted, and four young ones of the eagle sitting upon it, two upon the two wings, and a third upon the middle of the body, the fourth, not less than the others, sitting upon the neck, and more keenly watching the moment to peck out the eyes of its parent. But being asked by those who were on intimate terms with him what this picture might mean, he said, "The four young ones of the eagle are my four sons, who will not cease to persecute me even unto death. The younger of them, whom I even now embrace with such tender affection, will sometime at the last insult me more grievously and more dangerously than all the others."

Thus, therefore, his mind foreboding evils, pictured to himself those future sorrows which should arise to him from his children; and afterwards embodying the conception of his mind, he caused

it to be painted by an artificial representation. Here that saying of the prophet Micah seems to me worthy to be noted: "Trust ye not in a friend, put ye not confidence in a guide: keep the doors of thy mouth from her that lieth in thy bosom. For the son dishonoureth the father, the daughter riseth up against her mother, the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law; a man's enemies are the men of his own house."[1] But if any one desires to know the natural disposition and qualities of John, he may seek an account of them in the remarks which we have thrown together above upon Britain and Ireland.[2] Moreover, in addition to these things, it had been concluded in the agreement that he should receive his son, the count of Poictou, with the kiss of peace, and should banish from his heart all anger and indignation against him; and although this was done, a pretended rather than a sincere kiss of reconciliation was given: in going away the count heard this expression from his father's lips, although it was uttered in a low voice, "May the Lord never permit me to die until I have taken due vengeance upon you." And so when the count went forth from the camp, and related the manner of the reconciliation between himself and his father, and the words which followed, he excited the greatest laughter and wonder in the French king and his whole court.

These things being finished in this manner, the king caused himself to be carried to the castle of Chinon, where his weakness increasing on the fifth day, that is, on the seventh day from the one on which he took to his bed, which the physicians call the crisis, he was seized with death, reiterating and frequently using these expressions, with which he was troubled in his last moments: "Alas, the shame for a king to be thus overcome! alas, the shame!" Expressions which, as the mouth is accustomed to speak out of the abundance of the heart, the violence of the disease, as well as of his grief and indignation, forced from him amongst the rest of his thoughts; and so he expired amidst miserable expressions of this kind, the herald of his own confusion; and he died overwhelmed and crushed rather than ending his life by a natural death. From which it is evident that the higher any person is elevated by prosperity, with the greater impetuosity is he cast down at last; and the more the bow is bent backward, the farther is the arrow propelled forward.[3]

CHAP. XXVII.—OF THE ORIGIN OF KING HENRY AS WELL AS OF QUEEN ELEANOR, AND HOW CORRUPT WAS THE SOURCE FROM WHICH THEIR SONS SPRANG.

BUT that the reader may be afterwards less astonished at the unhappy end both of the father and of the sons, we have thought it good to annex here some account of their origin and race. The father of queen Eleanor, the count of Poictou, had carried off by force, and had taken away, the wife of the viscount of Chatel-

[1] Mic. vii. 5, 6. [2] See Topog. Hibern. p. 753, ed. Camden.
[3] The remainder of the chapter is occupied by extracts from the Holy Scriptures and the Fathers.

herault, his own subject, whose name was Mauberius, and had actually married her. But a good and holy hermit, sent, as was believed, from God, immediately came to him, and on the part of God prohibited him from marrying or betrothing himself to the wife of another man, and especially of a subject of his own; at the same time openly declaring that he was sent as a messenger from God in this matter, and saying, that this would be no marriage, but an open and detestable act of adultery. But he, persisting in his error, answered, that he did not believe him to be a messenger from God, nor was it evident to him that he was so. To whom the good man replied, "If I am a messenger of God, and you have no belief in me, neither shall the offspring to be begotten of you and her; nor shall their progeny be able to leave any prosperous fruit to follow them." This saying Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, a man of good and holy memory, often used to refer to, citing king Henry the second as his authority, who was accustomed to relate it to him when he was persecuted by the hostility of his son. But it is a matter of sufficient notoriety how queen Eleanor had conducted herself at first in the parts of Palestine beyond the sea; and how when she returned she had behaved herself towards her first as well as her second husband. And it is well known concerning her sons, though they had given so great promise in the flower of their age, that they withered away without fruit; and also of her daughters, who were married in Sicily and Saxony, it is evident that at the last the one died without children, the other without comfort; the one without issue, the other not without grief. But as to the rest, (in order that we may not go through the history of each particular; for that, perhaps, would be offensive to some readers,) the time which follows will unfold the condition of the remaining issue, as well as the end, not only of the Spanish race, but also of the German and those of Armorican Brittany, that residence of the giants. Yet one would have hoped that, with God's favour, some good would have come from the Spanish match, which promised so happy an union. In addition to this, it is too well known also how each of the daughters of the said queen, which she had by Louis, the French king, one of whom was lawfully married to Henry, count of Champagne, and the other to his brother Theobald, earl of Blois, how each of them, I say, lost her issue as well in Palestine as in Greece.

In order, moreover, to show that on the part of king Henry the origin of his family was corrupt; for it is known that the emperor Henry, whom Matilda, the daughter of the first, and the mother of the second Henry, king of England, had married; and who, for the sake of worldly ambition, first held his natural father a captive in chains, and afterwards pope Paschal, his spiritual father, of his own will, relinquished his empire, and seeking the desert towards Chester,[1] in the most western part of Britain, he there, even to his death, conscientiously and religiously lived a life of penance. But when she returned, Geoffrey, earl of Anjou, married the empress, by the consent of her father, and whilst her husband was

[1] This statement is contradicted by the most conclusive evidence.

living; and by her he had sons, two of whom, while yet in the ear, and of great promise, suddenly withered away and died without fruit. But a third, as we have said, began his life with greater success than he finished it.

Also Geoffery, earl of Anjou, when seneschal of France, had carnally known queen Eleanor; of which, as it is said, he frequently forewarned his son Henry, cautioning and forbidding him in any wise to touch her, both because she was the wife of his lord, and because she had been known by his own father.

As it were to crown all these enormities, which were already too enormous, king Henry, as common report declared, dared by an adulterous intercourse to defile this so-called queen of France, and so took her away from her own husband, and actually married her himself. How then, I ask, from such an union could a fortunate race be born?

And how the said Geoffery, earl of Anjou, was mad with rage against the holy Gerard, bishop of Seez, and emasculated him, and laid his bloody hands on the Lord's anointed; and how king Henry, following the steps of his father in crime, dared to vent his insane fury against the blessed martyr Thomas: each of these facts is too surely attested by history, to the everlasting ignominy of the whole race.

Also, there was a certain countess of Anjou, of remarkable beauty, but of an unknown nation, whom the count married solely for beauty, who was in the habit of coming very seldom to church, and there manifested very little or no devotion in it; she never remained in the church until the celebration of the secret canon of the mass,but always went out immediately after the gospel. At length, however, this was remarked with astonishment both by the count and also by others; and when she had come to the church, and was preparing to depart at her usual hour, she saw that she was kept back by four soldiers at the command of the count; and immediately throwing off the robe by which she was held, and leaving there with the rest her two little sons, whom she had with her under the right sleeve of her robe, she took up under her arm the two others, who were standing on the left, and in the sight of all flew out through a lofty window of the church. And so this woman, more fair in face than in faith, having carried off her two children with her, was never afterwards seen there.

Moreover, king Richard was often accustomed to refer to this event; saying that it was no matter of wonder, if coming from such a race, sons should not cease to harass their parents, and brothers to quarrel amongst each other; for he knew that they all had come of the devil, and to the devil they would go. When, therefore, the root was in every way so corrupt, how was it possible that the branches from such a stock could be prosperous or virtuous?

Again, when in a great war, which Louis the French king was waging with Henry, king of England, a certain cleric, eloquent and facetious, of the name of Godfrey de Lucy, who was soon after raised to the bishopric of Winchester,[1] being sent to Geoffery,

[1] Invested in A.D. 1189, and died in 1204; see Hardy's Le Neve, iii. 8.

count of Brittany, and had faithfully delivered the message which the father had commanded to be delivered to his son, and had most earnestly attempted to persuade him (but to no purpose) to win back the son to his father, who in the said war had firmly adhered to the king of France; at last the aforesaid count, who was a prudent and withal a very eloquent man, regarding him, as it seemed, with a fierce look and threatening words, said, "I wonder what temerity, what rash and ill-advised choice, brought you hither into my own territory and power, so pertinaciously to disinherit me." But the aforesaid priest, when he had replied to these words with fear and very great modesty, and had openly asserted, with a solemn oath, that he had come thither on account of his honour only, and not for his disgrace or loss; at last the count, as if solving the enigma of the aforesaid speech, said, "Are you ignorant that this is a natural property, engrafted and inserted in us by hereditary right, as it were, by our fathers and forefathers; that no one of us should love the other, but that the brother should always oppose his brother with all his might, and the son the father? Do not, therefore, deprive me of my hereditary right, nor labour to expel my nature from me." Wherefore, it is sufficiently known how the Norman tyrants reigned in the island of which they took possession, not by natural descent or legitimately, but, as it were, by a reversed order of things; for which reason few or none of them departed this life by a praiseworthy end. Moreover, how the brothers of king Henry the first, as well as of the second, miserably died, not living out half their days: how, also, the sons of king Henry the second, unanimously rebelling against their father, and, as we have already said, persecuting him even to the death, were quickly taken away, and did not escape the vengeance of heaven inflicted upon them (for although their actions were pleasing to God, who made use of them as instruments of His vengeance, without doubt their private intentions were displeasing to Him in every way, which in like manner the divine vengeance punished in His own good time): how, I say, each of these events came to pass, and what was the final issue appointed for them, is sufficiently well known both throughout England and France. For which reason the saying of Porphyry, which Gildas recals to mind in his history, we have thought worth adding here. Porphyry, the oriental historian, says, "Britain is an island in the west, a country abounding in tyrants:" whence, Boetius, "all island kings are tyrants;" and also the poet, "the tyrants of Sicily did not find a greater torment than envy." Nevertheless, since we are wont to detract from merit in general by particular instances of demerit, and that it is not unusual for something occasionally to be found contrary to established rule, through the dominion of the French, who were accustomed to be kings and not tyrants by natural descent, if it had been granted from heaven in our days, as was wished by many, there would be an end, through God's blessing, to the long established sway of tyrants within this island.

CHAP. XXVIII.—OF CERTAIN REMARKABLE EVENTS WHICH PRECEDED THE DEATH OF THIS GREAT PRINCE.

WE will, therefore, first set forth the remarkable events which occur to us respecting the death of this great man, which we shall produce as a fearful example for all who are high in station; afterwards we will come to an account of the signs which foretold his death, and also various visions and revelations. In the first place, therefore, it occurs as worthy of notice, that whereas almost for the whole year he had two or three archbishops and five or six bishops as followers of the court, he never in the end sought any pontifical counsel, nor had he the consolation of any authorized person. For they who are accustomed to hold in veneration the church of God and His ministers, elected into the heritage of Christ, are supported in their last moments by a worthy reverence for the priesthood; but they who do not act thus, or rather who conduct themselves as pernicious sons of the church, we see for the most part deprived of such comforts at the last. But when his body was exposed to view in the courtyard, all, without exception, as they are wont to do at such a time, indulged their rapacity to such an extent, that the body was left for some time without any garment whatever to cover it; until a certain youth, with his own small and thin cloak, such as young men usually wear in the summer, ran up and covered the naked parts of the body as far as he could, although it scarcely reached down to the knees. Then was fulfilled the surname, as often happens with surnames, which had been given to him in his early years when he was only duke, and had not ascended the throne. For, in truth, he introduced the fashion of short cloaks from Anjou into England, where in the time of his grandfather, Henry the first, it was the custom to use long cloaks falling down to the ground; and hence he was commonly called Henry of the Curt Mantle.

In addition to this, when his body was to be conveyed from Chinon to Fontevraud, scarcely any persons could be found who would sew up the corpse in the shroud of fine linen, or who would furnish horses, or harness them to the bier, or would attend the funeral with due rites and obsequies. But when the body was carried into the abbey church of the nunnery, common report, flying abroad with swift wings, quickly brought the count of Poictou to pay the last respect to his father's remains; who, when he entered the church and was approaching the body, the face of his father became visible by the napkin being taken off, wherewith it was covered; and as it appeared to all as if tinted with a colour, and not deprived of its usual fierce aspect, when the count beheld it not without the loud weeping and horror which belong to the flesh, and perhaps with some feeling of natural grief, he knelt down before the altar, and remained a short space in prayer; but scarcely sufficient to recite the Lord's prayer. But as soon as he had entered the church, (as they relate who were present and saw it,) both the nostrils of the king began to flow with blood, and did not cease to do so as long as his son remained in the church; so that

they who were sitting near and attending to the funeral were scarcely able to wipe and cleanse the mouth and face with a napkin. But of what this could have been the sign or portent, the incident itself loudly proclaims; and the diligent reader may turn his attention to conjecture, and may seek out from physicians by a subtle investigation a reasonable theory, according to which such things as these can happen from some violent impulse. But on the morrow, when the body was delivered over for burial before the high altar, scarcely was a decent ring to be found for his finger, or a sceptre for his hand, or a crown for his head, except such as was made from an old head-dress which was found; nor were any of the usual ensigns of royalty given, except such as were obtained by earnest entreaty, and that was little suitable to the occasion. And since it is the most lamentable of all misfortunes to have been prosperous, this was also added to complete his misery, that amidst the many treasures he had both in England and beyond the sea, and which were then more abundant than usual, he died poor; he who with the most ample kingdoms heaped up riches in the heights of towers and in the parts beneath the earth, not knowing for whom he gathered them, and left them filled with silver and gold for a man whom he had bitterly hated more than any in the world. And thus, as if by a peculiar punishment from heaven, like another Tantalus, he did not escape the miseries of want amidst plenty, caused by his own violence, and by the author of his death succeeding him in everything. For of all miseries none is worse than to be poor amidst affluence, and to experience the very wretchedness of want in plenty. Whence the poet says, "The last day of life must always be awaited by man; nor ought any one to be called happy before death and the last funeral rites."

This, also, amongst other things seems worthy of notice, that where he had eagerly striven with so great a desire and such earnest endeavours to shut up queen Eleanor, in the dress of a nun, in that very place, as if by a punishment inflicted by heaven, he himself died, and was consigned to his last resting-place in the earth, in a place so obscure and unsuitable for so great majesty; whilst she remained there a survivor long after him. As the before-named vision openly declared, "Here was one end;" and a little after, "He shall be covered with those who are veiled." In token of the approaching decease of the king, one Friday night before the festival of the Nativity, at the hour of night, when all was quiet, and when all were in their first sleep, a comet appeared in England, —which is wont to be considered as a precursor of the death or birth of princes,—far lower than the common stars, and also the planets, in this nebulous air, flying along like a globe of fire, with a noise like thunder, but longer and more equal, and emitting a splendid light, but greater and more lasting than a continued sunbeam.

About eight days before his death, this happened in the parts of Normandy not far from Seez, (that is to say, about five miles,) at Hiesmes: in a certain lake all the fish, with which it abounded, engaged in such a conflict on a certain night, leaping as well in the water as out of it, that by the noise they caused they called forth

to the sight a multitude of the persons who lived near. For so long a time, and in so deadly a conflict did they engage, that in the whole fish-pond scarcely one was left alive in the morning, by this wonderful and unheard-of prodigy, and by the death of many of themselves foretelling the death of one single individual.

It happened also, in the province of Wales, at Eleva, which the river of Vage alone separates from Haia, that two lakes, of no inconsiderable magnitude, suddenly broke over their banks, (of which the one was natural, the other artificial,) on the night on which king Henry the first died. That which had been banked in by man's labour rushed out with such impetuosity as entirely to empty itself; that which was natural glided for two miles down the valley, and there remaining, took up its abode and formed itself into a lake as before.

In the city of Sens, at that time when Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, was compelled to live in banishment in France, on a certain night after matins, when he had lain long in prayer, prostrate before the altar in the church of Saint Columba,[1] and most likely had thought, amidst his prayers, about Henry the second, king of England, and his sons, and of their death, he heard this metrical verse pronounced in a low voice, "One death seizes upon both, but a bad end awaits the father." This was first shadowed forth in the history of Eli, the priest, and his sons, and afterwards was revealed to our martyr in the same words concerning king Henry and his sons. For both the brothers, Henry and Geoffery, as also afterwards their father, were carried off by a violent fever.

Also, when a certain monk was reclining on his bed, and in deep thought concerning the three sons of king Henry, renowned soldiers as they were, and the fourth like them, although younger; he reflected that there was not a prince on the earth who could rejoice in such a family, and for a long time he speculated what end they would have; so at last he fell asleep, and it seemed to him, that on the bank of a certain river he saw four birds sitting, the male was of the duck species, which in common parlance are called mallards; and those birds were most beautiful. A certain voice then said to him, "Do you see those birds? they are the sons of king Henry, of whom you were thinking; and do you wish, therefore, to see their end? Look for a little while;" which, when he did, he saw a falcon flying down in the air from above with swift wings, and immediately these four birds, one after another, plunged themselves in under the water of the river, as it were, for fear of that bird, and afterwards appeared no more; and the voice immediately added, "Do you wish to know what that bird flying above is? He is Philip, the son of the king of France." But, in regard to the three first and eldest we have already seen in our own days, that they were taken away from this life by sudden and untimely deaths; and, as it were, drowned in the waves of this world, and Philip of France, whether he may have been the cause of their deaths or not, as yet surviving and reigning in power. But may God long preserve the fourth of the

[1] See Gall. Christ. xii. 146.

sons of king Henry, who yet survives, for the tranquillity and peace of the people and the liberty of the church!

Behold,[1] reader, how the author spake according to the time in which these things were written; but when he published a new edition of this work a short time afterwards, John, the fourth son, like the other three, began to waste and to die away, while king Philip was reigning in France, who, as it was believed, procured this through the means of the eldest son.

Also, when a certain religious man, of the same brethren and of the military orders, had in like manner deeply thought about their father, who was then reigning, and had reigned long and prosperously on the earth, and had in like manner fallen asleep, a certain man seemed to stand near him, who also said to him, "Say that Psalm, 'Are your minds set upon righteousness, O ye congregation?'"[2] which, when he went on saying as far as those three aforesaid verses, with the others, "Break their teeth, O God, in their mouths; let them fall away like water that runneth apace," &c., and then he immediately disappeared. To which, also, this verse having a contrary sense, may not unsuitably be added and adapted: "but the just shall inherit the earth, and shall dwell for ever upon it."[3]

When Henry the second, as a boy, had been brought to the court of Louis, the French king, and Bernard of blessed memory, the abbot of Clairvaux, happened to be present, the king asked what the abbot thought of the boy who was to inherit so great an extent of territory and sovereignty; whereupon, the holy man earnestly directed his look towards the boy. Turning his eyes towards the earth and fixing them there, he replied, as it were in a prophetic spirit, "He comes from the devil, and he will go to the devil;" alluding to the past tyranny of the father as well as the future tyranny of the son, and the bloody and detestable atrocity of both against the anointed of the Lord, against the bishop of Sens, and the archbishop of Canterbury.

Concerning the coronation of that king, a certain good and simple man of Worcester, when lying upon his sick bed, said to those who were standing around him, a little before he breathed forth his spirit, "that king who is now crowned will reign nearly but not fully thirty-five years, and will preserve peace everywhere, even to the end of his life. But his death shall be ignominious; and after his time, at no long interval, woe be to these islands."

This prophecy could be referred, indeed, to the time of John, who far more atrociously than all other tyrants, during his own days, by confounding right and wrong, presumed, with a rashness well meriting vengeance, to be mad, and to rage not only against the priesthood, but the English kingdom. For the said John, (of whose life we may say that it agreed with the interpretation of his name,) if we may here, by anticipation, offer a few remarks, since he could not equal his illustrious brothers and his parents in good qualities; for

[1] This paragraph is undoubtedly an addition made by Giraldus when he revised his work; but no change in the writing of the MS. is perceptible.

[2] Ps. lviii. [3] See Ps. xxxvi. 22. Vulg.

as he was younger in years, so being far worse in the moroseness of his disposition, and in the depravity of his actions, he not only surpassed them in bad qualities, but even he eclipsed all vicious men in his enormities. More especially by the detestable acts of his wicked tyranny, he laboured with all his might to outdo all the tyrants whom either the present age or even remote antiquity could recal to memory. Moreover, during his government, or rather in his reign of madness, it happened in South Wales, in a certain maritime province, commonly known by the name of Morgan's Land,[1] a little before the interdict in England, which continued so long, that to a certain good and deeply learned man named Maurice, who was also the brother of Clement, the venerable abbot of Neth, there appeared in a vision the person of a certain soldier of those parts, long since dead, who also broke forth into words like these, "Master Maurice, finish this verse: The King of kings shall destroy this kingdom." To whom the other replied, as it seemed, thus, "Rather do you put an end to it, for you have almost completed the verse." For the soldier was a learned man, and whilst he was alive was very frequently accustomed, by way of amusement and social recreation, to converse with him in alternate verses, sometimes beginning and at other times finishing them. But when he had said this, the soldier added, "Since you are more slow of comprehension than you were formerly, and are worn out with old age, the verse may be thus finished and completed, 'The King of kings shall destroy this kingdom by a two-fold plague.'" But behold how wonderful a prophecy there was of the event which followed through this vision; for in a very short time afterwards, so very general and destructive an interdict plunged the whole of England in grief never before equalled, and struck it with the two-fold plague of persecution, on the one hand, by the cessation of all divine rites, and on the other by the spoliation of the goods of the clergy. And the double plague could also be referred to this, that not long after, by a two-fold and heavy danger, the army of the king as well as that of the French destroyed the kingdom by slaughter, and fire, and rapine. It seems also here worthy to be noticed, that because the wretched barons of England, in no respect either pitying or compassionating the misery of their mother, were unwilling by a manful resistance to curb the said king, who thus badly governing both himself and his people, and on this account so atrociously mad against the spouse and holy church of Christ, they themselves also a little while afterwards had been delivered over into his power by the divine vengeance, through means of foreigners, to a deadly and almost exterminating destruction, unless assistance had very quickly been given by the French. From which cause it happened unluckily that in the time of the interdict, and of the persecution of the church, they made no attempt for this purpose, when they might, to have had the pope and the whole court of Rome favourable and well disposed to the extermination of the tyrant; but when he was reconciled to the pope, and no doubt through fear was made a vassal of the Roman

[1] That is, Glamorganshire; see Camd. Brit. p. 729.

church, they attempted it with less discretion, because with far greater difficulty and danger. But enough of this; now let us return to the order of our subject.

CHAP. XXIX.—OF THE VARIOUS VISIONS WHICH FORETOLD THE DEATH OF THE SAID KING HENRY.

MANY persons a little before his death saw visions which preceded and foretold that great event. Amongst whom it seemed to me (for I was at that time following the court) as if the body of the king, then apparently dead, being carried by night into the left transept of a certain church, all the lamps which were hanging on high were suddenly extinguished, and broken in pieces, and dashed on the pavement by a sudden flight of crows, ravens, and jackdaws, which flew forth from their hiding-places, as if frightened by the large number of lights; also the wax candles, two of which stood at the feet of the body, were thrown down by the birds and extinguished. But two which were standing upright at the head, before they could be taken hold of by those who were standing around, fell of themselves from the candlesticks upon the ground, and were broken to pieces. Thus all the lights being extinguished, we, who seemed to be present at the nocturnal funeral obsequies, immediately went forth, (not, indeed, in an orderly manner, but flying out from the church very hastily and in fear,) and left the body there alone, filled equally with fear and horror, besieged, as it seemed to be, with unclean birds, and altogether destitute of all human comfort. But during the lifetime of the king, although no long time before his death, when I had related this vision to that venerable man, Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, he also unfolded to me a vision which he had seen about this same time concerning the same king. It seemed to him that when he was entering a certain church he found the body of a dead man lying on a bier, which on a sudden and to the dread of the bystanders raised itself on its elbow, and with a shrill voice uttered these words, "Where am I, and where am I lying?" And when a reply was given, "that it was in the church," it added, "The church is not the place for me; carry me forth quickly from hence." And having thrown off the garment with which the corpse was covered, it appeared to be that of king Henry. But when the body was carried out, and the archbishop had now entered with the priest to hear mass, he beheld the altar stripped of everything, and having a large fissure through the middle; and when he had come nearer he saw, as it were, human excrement on it, and a great quantity of filth around the altar on all sides. At the sight of which, drawing himself back with horror as well as shame, he beheld the priest of the church standing on the other side, whom he called to him and addressed him in these words, "Are you," he said, "the priest who ministers in this place?" And he said, "I am." "Why, then, do you guard this holy place and the altar of the Lord so irreverently and disgracefully?" But he replied, "O, my lord, that man whom you have seen carried forth just now, he it was who thus dis-

honoured my church." But the archbishop prohibited him from celebrating holy offices there until the place had been thoroughly cleansed and restored; and truly in his days that man stained the church of God in the land with filth and uncleanness, as far as he was able, by depriving it of its privileges, and taking away its dignities.

We have also thought it right to introduce here a vision of Saint Godric, a renowned hermit, whose life and conversation have adorned the parts of the north of England in our own days, since in part it was not unlike the vision which has already been related. For it seemed to him that when he had entered into a certain church, he saw king Henry and his four sons grown up to manhood, as though prostrate before the altar, who also afterwards rising up began to wipe the altar-pall, and the linen cloths, and as if to shake off the dust. Then climbing upon the altar, they wiped off the dust from the feet and legs of the crucifix. But at length ascending above the crucifix, and there sitting for some time, and at last, horrible to relate, they began to defile the altar on every side with their urine and excrement. And, instantly, he saw the king, together with his two sons, Richard and John, falling down headlong from above, before the altar, with a great crash, so that with horror he beheld them dashed to pieces there, and miserably deprived of life, while the two others had vanished from his sight.

The good man himself thus explained this vision: that they seemed to pray, and to wipe the altar and the image of the crucifix, because they were careful to preserve peace in the kingdom for their poor subjects; but when they climbed up upon the altar and the crucifix, they thereby represented the oppression of the church, which had been and would be exercised by them. The ruin of the king, and of his two sons who reigned after him, pointed out the divine vengeance which should be taken upon them. But this good man lived even to the martyrdom of the blessed Thomas, and beyond it; who, when he heard of it, said, "That king who exercises such great tyranny against the church of God shall sorely fall, according to the vision which I saw; and his sons, especially the two who shall reign after him, shall follow the steps of their father both in crime and in punishment."

Moreover, a certain man saw in his sleep, as it were, two kings standing in one place; and he beheld king Henry suddenly put on a downcast and contemptible countenance; and to the astonishment of all, dwindle down, as it were, into the stature of a dwarf, and the small form of a little man; but he saw Philip, king of France, as he was being conducted for the purpose of hospitality into a certain castle by king Henry, increase into so great majesty, and excellent tallness of stature, that he became an object of veneration and fear to all who beheld him: who, when he beheld king Henry so small, showing him to those who were with him, with his finger stretched forth, he exclaimed, "Is this the man to whom the world ought to be left?"

It seemed also to another person that king Henry was riding

through a muddy ford, and that he was entirely swallowed up by the earth and mud which closed around him, and that immediately there issued forth a very large quantity of the blackest mud; and that when at last, after the greatest labour, he had been extracted from it, he was found without a head. And when a little while afterwards his head was found by itself, and he who saw these things endeavoured carefully to join and fit it to the neck, but to no purpose, he stretched himself out and awoke from sleep. Also a certain monk, under the influence of the spirit, saw, as it were, a man prepared for a combat. And when he had inquired of the angel who was his conductor who it was, he heard that it was Jesus. And when he saw another person on the other side similarly prepared, and inquired who it was, he heard that it was king Henry. And when they were engaging more fiercely, the king offering grievous insults to Him, at length seemed to strike the Lord on the forehead, so that the blood flowed down his face. But then the monk, deeply grieved and amazed, cried out, "Alas, alas! let us help Him!" But the angel replied, "There is no necessity to do so; wait awhile." And immediately the Lord raising his staff, so crushed the king to pieces by striking him that nothing of him remained any longer to be seen upon the earth.

CHAP. XXX.—OF THE VISION OF KING WILLIAM RUFUS WHICH HE SAW, AND OF ANOTHER VISION SEEN BY HIM; AND OF A DEATH LIKE TO HIS OWN WHICH FOLLOWED OF KING RICHARD.

BUT I think it expedient to mention in this place the vision which William, king of England, the son of William the bastard, and the uncle of the mother of Henry the second, saw, and whom they commonly called William Rufus. For this king was active and full of courage in arms, but was such a tyrant, that, loving war and having a hatred of the church of God, he had proposed either for the greater part to despoil, or to convert into military fiefs, all the monasteries and religious houses formerly founded by the English, and enriched by them throughout England, together with all their lands and possessions, saying, that almost the half of the kingdom of England was given up for the service of religion; and that altogether, or nearly so, he recommended the whole of it to be applied to the defence of the crown, if necessity absolutely required it. For perverse princes had been induced to say and to think such things, and to carry them into effect if they could, because the annual returns of the revenue of England in the time of the Anglo-Saxon kings, and also in the days of Edward of Westminster, the last but one, as it is found by the roll of Winchester,[1] amounted to the sum of sixty thousand marks; but in the time of king Henry the second, so many lands had at times been given to the military orders, first by king Stephen, as well as afterwards by himself, and there had been such continued wars, first between themselves and afterwards with France, that the annual revenues were scarcely found to amount to twelve thousand marks. It may, therefore, be

[1] That is, Doomsday Book; see Ellis's Introduction to Doomsday i. 353.

asked by any one, or even may cause a dumb person to inquire, how king Henry the second and his sons had such abundant treasures in the midst of so many wars? For which a reason can be given, that, inasmuch as they had less in revenue, they took care to supply the deficiency by whatever means they might, trusting more to contingencies than to fixed sources of revenue. But this, also, we thought here worthy of notice, that the emperor of Germany has an annual revenue of nearly three hundred thousand marks; and, nevertheless, in both kingdoms, as well in that of Germany as in those of Lorrain and Burgundy, prelates of the church possess almost all the cities. In respect of the revenues and treasures of the Greek emperor, and also of the king of Sicily, before the destruction of both, namely, of the kingdom of the one and the empire of the other, by the Latins, these are little or nothing to be accounted of; for one city alone of Sicily, Palermo, renders annually a larger certain revenue to the king of Sicily than the whole of England does to the king of England.

But the saying of the most christian king Louis, the father of king Philip, the scourge of the Normans, is worthy of being remembered, and I have not thought it beside the subject to add it here. For a conversation was once carried on in his presence, concerning the various riches of the kings and emperors, without any mention at all being made of the kingdom of France; as, for example, about the purple and silken robes of the Greeks, also their precious gems, and their many and great riches in other things; about the treasures of the Sicilians, and their jewels, and the piles and heaps of gold in which they abound in such immense quantities. And again about the beautiful and highly-bred horses of the Spaniards which their country has produced, besides their other riches, and a large abundance of the purest gold; also about the powerful armaments of the Germans, and the warlike character and bodily strength of their men, of the multitude of their various nations, and of the bravery of their inhabitants, who are only anxious to give proof of it in conflict; and of the Teutonic fury, when first rushing on in battle, scarcely to be sustained; and again of the Saxons, by far the most prompt in action. Also, the discourse was continued about the parks of wild animals in England, and of the great abundance of game; of the sport of hunting in the woods, and also of the swiftness and harmonious voices of the hounds, delighting both the eye and the ear; of the shrill sounding metal of that land, and of the exhaustless mines of silver, the command of which realm, great and widely extending as it is, and so fruitful, the force of Norman tyranny has rather extorted than the submission of the English have yielded. Also they spoke about the necks of the English bent under the yoke, and in every way yielded to subjection and slavery, and always ready in any danger whatever to serve at the will of the prince. But at length, after much discourse of this kind, silence being obtained, the king broke out into the following words:—"But amongst the other kingdoms shall nothing be said of France?" and immediately added, "and we truly have bread, and wine, and gladness." But behold how astonishing and how

mild was this reply of this prince! for he said nothing about the Cisalpine and especially the Gallican armament, which, as histories relate, was once so formidable to the Romans; nothing about the strenuous warfare of France, the glory of which, even at this day, surpasses that of the whole world; nothing of their many other and great gifts and endowments, both of nature and industry, in which they surpass others with incomparable excellence, because, as a pious and mild man, he wished to speak nothing arrogantly, nothing proudly, nothing boastingly of his nation. And this also seems worthy of being added here, that in the court of France no one will see anything pompous, anything tyrannical. For they do not surround themselves with arms in the time of peace, for being hated by none of their own subjects, they rather deserve to be beloved by all; nor do they prevent the access to them of such as have complaints, by means of marshals and servants with wands and staves.

For there justice is at hand, because it is shown immediately and without cost, not venal as elsewhere, and culpably traded in according to the example of Gehazi. And although so precious a thing and deified, since it is consubstantial and co-eternal with God, it is most disgracefully prostituted, and is always put off from day to day with injurious delays. Also the other princes of the earth, using enormous oaths in all their discourse, presume too foolishly and indiscreetly to swear by God's death, by His eyes, by His feet and teeth, by His throat and His wounds. And whilst they thus rashly endeavour to tear God limb from limb, they openly show that they neither venerate nor reverence the excellence of the divine majesty with any worthy and due devotion. But these princes, as often as they determine to use oaths in their conversation, swear by the saints of France, and with such simple expressions as these and the like they fill and ornament their discourse. For they know well, and do not affirm only by words, but also by almost all their actions, that he that walketh uprightly walketh surely.

Nor do they behave themselves like bears or lions amongst their subjects, as we have seen some do. For although high in station in the earth, they exhibit themselves affable and amiable to their subjects; nor are they proud or lifted up on this account, but are the more clothed with humility and kindness. They know indeed, and recal to mind, inasmuch as they are men, that eloquent saying of the wise man, "If thou be made the master, lift not thyself up, but be amongst them as one of the rest." [Eccles. xxii. 1.] And also that saying, "The more exalted you are, humble yourself the more in all things."

We have also seen many princes, who, when they have obtained any prosperity by the turn of good fortune, or have done any action worthy of praise in warlike affairs, immediately carried away with too much pride, ascribe all to the power of their own arm. But these in all their successes ascribe all the praise to God, and give thanks and glory to Him alone, as often as they have done anything praiseworthy or glorious.

Also there are and have been some princes in our own days, who in everything holding justice and injustice in equal estimation, and confounding all right and wrong, and thinking themselves privileged to do what they like, neither render justice to their subjects, nor preserve chastity nor any fidelity to the marriage-bed; but in both respects offending openly and publicly with a presumption worthy of punishment, they commit enormous sins both in deed and by example. But amongst these, a chastity and modesty, laudable in a prince, preserve undefiled the bed of lawful wedlock; and the most equal balance of justice adorns and illuminates, by the strict paths of an equitable government, the seat of highest excellence, as though it were set around on every side with precious jewels.

We have also seen princes, not following each other by any lineal succession, but reversing the order of things, who have gained possession of a violent rule by the murder and destruction of their near connexions; we have seen these receive by the divine vengeance even in this world the recompense of their bloody tyranny and excessive cruelty, and very generally go out of this life by an unnatural death by means of arrows or cross-bow bolts, or by violence in war, or by very frequent hostile invasions, awaiting elsewhere the eternal penalty of punishment in hell; and who leave neither to their children, nor to their grandchildren, nor to their other relations, what they have unjustly gained, and by worse means kept, and which in every respect they have governed with too much injury and wickedness. But these succeeding to their paternal kingdoms by an invariable hereditary order and natural right, by every means in their power observe a proper limit, and moderation, and clemency towards those who are placed under them, and avoid all severity and cruelty in their government. And, therefore, reigning long in prosperity and peace by the favour of God, who sometimes recompenses good deeds even in this world, they receive a greater increase of honour from day to day; and at length, when the course of this temporal life has passed, they depart by a happy death, and receive in heaven the eternal reward of their just as well as pious rule, and leave their kingdoms in prosperity to their children and heirs.

And whereas, other princes cause figures of fierce and devouring beasts, such as bears, leopards, and lions, to be represented in outward appearance before men, and bear them before them painted on their arms and banners as an index of their ferocity; these alone, by a laudable gentleness of character, desire by every means in their power to observe a due moderation in their words and behaviour, as well as in all their actions, and wishing to avoid all arrogance and pride, mark and adorn their shields and banners, as well as their other armour, with only the simple small flowers of the lily.

It is, therefore, wonderful and most deserving of heraldic memory, as well as praise, that in our own days, if we may here in few words anticipate the subject, we have seen the simple fleur de lys conquer leopards and lions. These terrible beasts, in truth, by the wonderful issues of events, have immediately been turned to

flight in cowardice and haste, neither looking behind them nor offering resistance; at the very smell of the flowers alone, and at the breath of the French, and amidst the very first-fruits of war, have left all their caves and holes, and all their accustomed hiding-places and lairs, with their countless prey and ample and wide pastures, to these flowers and those who bear them. Here, therefore, is fulfilled, as evidently appears in many other instances, that evangelical word of Him who is the Truth itself, and who cannot be deceived: "He that humbleth himself shall be exalted, and he that exalteth himself shall be abased," (Luke xiv. 11;) also, in these our own modern times, and in this country, there have been some princes who, as if having declared war, have always stretched forth their greedy and rapacious hands towards those things which belong to God, and have not permitted the spouse of Christ, which He has purchased to Himself by shedding His blood for salvation, to enjoy the slightest liberty in their territories. And, therefore, by an example permitted by God, and terrible to all, and by an exquisite method of vengeance, by their own progeny, but basely begotten, and forthwith fiercely armed against their parents, they have been punished by a continual persecution to the end of their lives; and, as though by a well-merited recompense, they have been ignominiously and miserably extirpated from those same territories in which they permitted not the Lord to be honoured with the reverence due unto Him, by the powerful avengers permitted from heaven, from the prosperous race of Pepin and Charles. . . . . But enough of these things. Let us now return to king Rufus, after these not altogether useless digressions.

He first constructed the New Forest, which is in the south parts of England, and which is standing at this day; many churches there being altogether deserted and abandoned, in which, from ancient times, the divine offices had been celebrated, and the voice of praise was raised, and many husbandmen, the owners of the soil, being driven away and outlawed from their paternal homes and the lands of their ancestors. This king saw in his sleep on a certain night, when he had determined in the morning to be present in that forest, (which he loved more than other places of England,) for the sake of hunting, that he was entering a certain church, which was so beautiful and remarkable as he had never before seen, and was adorned in a very comely manner with tapestry, portraying historical subjects, and with costly Greek altar palls, and was everywhere covered with cloths of silk, and of purple with twisted fringes, and with shrines inlaid with gold and ivory and with glittering jewels. All these things he regarded with admiration; but when a little afterwards he looked again, he saw the same church entirely naked both around the walls and the altar, and destitute of everything with which it had before been adorned. But looking again the third time, he saw a man lying naked extended upon the altar, upon whom when he had looked, he immediately felt a strong desire to eat some of his flesh. Therefore, drawing forth his sword with which he was girt, he approached

his feet; and when he was now preparing so cruelly to cut and separate some pieces, the man himself addressed him in these words: "Is it not enough for you that you have hitherto harassed me with so great troubles, unless you both eat my flesh and gnaw my bones?" At which he cried out, and started from his couch, equally filled with fear and horror; and instantly sending for a certain bishop, who then happened to be in attendance in the court, he narrated to him the whole vision. The bishop incontinently and faithfully expounded its meaning in this manner: "The church, O king, which you saw so beautiful and adorned, was the church of your kingdom before you began to reign, which abounded in all riches, and revenues, and dignities, and privileges. But that you afterwards saw it naked, points out the state of the same church of your kingdom now you are reigning, which, to the utmost of your power, you have impoverished; and as far as you could, and designedly, you have entirely stripped of its wealth, which it had formerly gathered from the bounty of the faithful. The man whom you saw upon the altar was the body of Jesus, which you have purposed to consume, together with His church, and to extinguish His glory. That terrible threat which was uttered is, without doubt, an admonition to repent; and this you ought to fear, which, unless you quickly do, O king, you may well dread lest you incur His exterminating wrath." The bishop then advised him immediately to convoke the bishops of his kingdom, and all the clergy, and that by their counsel he should reconcile himself to God in every way; and that he should immediately send messengers and should recal from exile the venerable and holy man Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, whom at that time he had compelled to go into banishment, because he wished to defend the liberties of the church. Hereupon, the king answered, that within a very short time he would hold a council of the chief persons of his kingdom; and forthwith, contrary to the advice which he had received, he went to hunt in the aforesaid forest, where he had plundered so many churches, and had cruelly disinherited all the faithful who had from ancient time been tenants of the soil. Without any further delay, the strife was ended by his death; for where he had offended, there he fell mortally wounded by the chance stroke of an arrow, shot by one of his attendants. For a knight having aimed his dart against the wild animal, the Divine will which rules in heaven guided the shaft, which struck not the beast, but the king, cruel and beyond bounds ferocious as he was.

There was also another remarkable vision concerning this same person; for he was put upon his guard and premonished by the Lord, who seeks the conversion of a sinner rather than his destruction, having a far more earnest desire that he should be amended than that he should obstinately perish; for the prior of Dunstaple seemed in a vision to be led by a man of a very venerable countenance to a most delightful place, where, in a certain royal palace, he appeared to see, as it were, a prince sitting upon a throne with twelve of the same line of kindred, and many others,

brightly shining with wonderful grace and beauty. And he saw a most beautiful woman standing near, making her mournful complaint of William Rufus, and, in the presence of them all, showing her garments and clothes, which before had been just as costly and beautiful as they were now rent by him and torn to pieces. And, behold, a certain man, black and hairy, presented to the prince five arrows, which he also ordered to be laid up, saying, that to-morrow the wrongs of the woman should be avenged by one of them. And when these things were heard and seen, the same churchman was led forth from the court, and asked his guide who that prince and that woman might be. The guide answered him, and said that it was Christ, with the apostles, and others who were sitting near Him, and His faithful friends; but the woman was the church, who, without doubt, should be avenged on the morrow by one of the arrows which he saw presented, unless the king repented. Immediately awakening from sleep, he rose up soon after midnight; and having instantly prepared his horses, he hastened towards the New Forest, to forewarn the king, neither sparing his horses nor changing his spurs, inasmuch as he wished to ride on without intermission; and he found him about the first hour of the day, where he was preparing to go to hunt in the aforesaid forest. And immediately, when the king saw him coming, he exclaimed that he was not ignorant of the cause of his coming, and immediately ordered forty marks to be given to him. For he who destroyed the other churches, to the utmost of his power, throughout England, caused the church of Dunstaple to be repaired at his own expense, and loved the place, above others, as well as the prior himself. But when the prior replied that he had come for another reason, and that he had greater and more urgent cause for coming, having called the king forthwith apart by himself, and related to him in secret the whole vision in order, he advised him then, by no means, to go into the forest, but incontinently to reconcile himself to God, and immediately to amend his ways towards the church of God. And, behold, before he had finished his discourse, a certain man, exactly like the one whom he had seen in his dream offering the arrows, came and presented to the king five arrows, such as he had seen in his sleep, which he immediately gave to a knight, whose name was Ralph de Aquis, of Bath, to carry with him into the forest, the prior at the same time using every means in his power to dissuade the king, but to no purpose. Very soon after this the king fell dead in the wood, pierced by one of those arrows shot from the bow of the same knight, and felt the wrath of that true King, and the Ruler of all things, whose arrows are sharp beyond measure, and cannot miss their aim, and do not go away backward, nor return without accomplishing their purpose. From the face of His bow the wicked cannot easily escape or fly.

But that in some degree we may anticipate events, in order to show the greater clearness and suitableness of incidents like this, earl Richard, who was made king, and succeeded his father in the government of the kingdom, puffed up in his day with tyrannical pride, provoked that avenging wrath which too frequently and too

wickedly he was accustomed to abuse, and fell, shot by a bolt from a cross-bow, as William had fallen by an arrow.[1]

CHAP. XXXI.—OF SOME FINAL ADDITIONS, INTRODUCED IN ORDER TO MAKE THE FORMER ACCOUNT MORE CLEAR.

SUCH, therefore, and so bloody, are the deaths of tyrants, as very many examples show from ancient times in our first distinction. At first, they flourish as much as their heart can desire; then, they who are bad, become worse, and they who are carried on by habits of loose living in the end yield under the right hand of vengeance, and as vernal flowers, which the warmth of the gentle west wind has for the time produced, they suddenly wither by the blasts of the north-west wind. From the remarks which have been already made, it is, therefore, evident that to whom much is committed, of him the more will be required. It is evident, also, that the higher the rank of any one is, the heavier is his fall; and that He who is long-suffering, and waits patiently, is at last the most severe avenger. It is evident, I say, that He more heavily condemns those who are not converted, and with whom divine mercy bears long in order that they may be converted. For those who are high in power shall endure more severe punishment, and the greater torment shall await the stronger: for the counsels of God are a great deep. No king of the Norman race, even to our own days, has ended his life by a praiseworthy death when he has passed over six or seven years.

This small treatise, touching the Instruction of Princes, promised so often, our diligence has at length completed, as it best might, amidst such disturbances of the earth, and in times so tempestuous. The nobles mourn, the prelates sigh, the church of God, alas! is moaning: spoiled by more than pagan rage, not merely of its external possessions, but of its chalices, service-books, crucifixes, fringes, ornaments, and riches bestowed of old on the service of Christ by the munificence of the faithful. In a word, to complete the description of our times (or rather of our tempests), the powerful do nothing but oppress, the stronger plunder, private men betray, the wretched weep, for the malice of two men two kingdoms are exposed to intolerable rapine, and to unknown exactions. Henceforth to other historians must it be left to tell how and by whom this malice first sprang up, whence came this dire, this inexorable discord among the great, by whom all the labour of the faithful has been so crushed, that the Holy Land has not yet been recovered, what conclusion this contest is like to have, what end also the Norman race of kings shall find now or hereafter. All this is left (an ample space) for the historians that shall arise hereafter. But for us to have detailed how that dog and tyrant sprung from tyrants the most cruel, of all tyrants himself the most tyrannical; how he, by the wrath and disposition of God, graced the triumph of one who was born the happy offspring of natural kings,

[1] A couplet is here introduced to the effect that Richard was killed at Chalus.

under whose just rule and pious government the kingdom as well as the priesthood of France prosper in the tranquil joys of peace and liberty, and united two or three kingdoms under one monarchy; how, after such cloudy times, and disadvantages so great and threatening, at last the storm and clouds having passed away, a calmer day once dawned on England's realm; and the favour of God, with liberty and deliverance, it was earnestly hoped and desired, would look down on the western climes of the world, trampled so long under an insular tyranny, after the dire and insupportable yoke of bondage; and for what reasons God being angry, and punishing severely the wrongs inflicted upon His church, in consequence of the violation of the king's words and promises, these hopes were never realized. But by describing these things, I say, since we are not all equal to every undertaking, we might have calculated upon affording a worthy opportunity to studious minds, and to such as deserve praise and reward.

The end of the book concerning the Instruction of a Prince. Amen.

RICHARD OF DEVIZES.

RICHARD OF DEVIZES.

PROLOGUE.

§ 1. To the venerable father, his ever lord Robert, formerly prior of the church of Winchester, his servant Richard, surnamed of Devizes, prays, that as the work which he has commenced is good, so he may continue in it.

When under favourable auspices you set out from our church of Winchester to Charterhouse,[1] I much and often desired to follow you upon your journey, perhaps to remain with you; certainly, however, to see what you were about, what sort of life you led, how far more lofty and nearly reaching heaven the cell of Charterhouse was than the close of Winchester. At length God was pleased to gratify my wish; I have come, and would that I had come alone! I have been therewith two companions, and they who had come with me were the cause of my return. My ardour displeased them, and they caused my fervour, I will not say frenzy, to grow cold. I have seen among you, what I had not seen elsewhere, what I could not have believed, what I could not enough admire. In each of your cells there is, according to your rules, one door which you are at liberty to open at pleasure, but through which you may not go out, except so far as to enable one foot to remain within the threshold in the cell. A brother may go out with whichever foot he pleases, so long as the other remains in the cell. A great and profound mystery must be contained in a door which may be opened, but through which it is forbidden to pass in or out! I wonder also at another thing. Abounding as you do in temporal goods, the most merciful and humane of men, as having nothing, and yet possessing all things, exercising perfect charity one with another, you bestow upon strangers but a half-measure of that sympathetic charity, giving them the benedicite without the daily allowance. I wonder also at a third matter. Men, living for yourselves out of the world a retired and solitary life, you know all the transactions of the world as they take place, and sometimes know them beforehand. And I beg, do not believe that I speak in reproach of your more than Pythagorean taciturnity, in that I dare express my belief that men of such gravity, of so arduous a profession, are rather employed in predicting the madness of the world, than in gossiping about them.

§ 2. But although God, who knows all things, is with you, as is thought, and in you, and in Him you know all things, yet not by man nor through man, since you wished, as you said, that I should write for you a history of the times, so that my treatise might be a

[1] See the Preface for an explanation of these allusions.

pleasure to you, as describing the result of the new state of things, which the world, which changes round into square, has, especially since your removal to the celled heaven, brought about in order that the world, by having its fickleness more fully displayed before your eyes, might become worthless in your sight, and the well-known characters might recal the memory of a beloved friend. O! happy me! if that holy spirit, if that deified man, already numbered with the gods, in the presence of the great God, deigns to remember me, who am scarce a man. I have done what you asked; do you what you have promised. And in order that this little book may have a beginning of some importance, I have commenced a little farther back than was stipulated, and the starting point of my work is the confused house of the descendants of Œdipus;[1] of which, since I dare not hope to be able to unravel the whole, I attempt the latter part only. Why, and how, and when, the father crowned his sons; how great and how strange the events that flowed from it; how often and how many countries were embroiled, and by what persons; what was the ultimate result of each—I have left to those who meditate greater works; my treatise serves for surviving people alone.

RICHARD OF DEVIZES ON THE ACTS OF RICHARD THE FIRST.

§ 3. In the year of the incarnation of our Lord, one thousand one hundred and eighty-nine, Richard, (the son of king Henry the second, by Alienor,) brother of king Henry[2] the third, was consecrated king of the English by Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, at Westminster, on the third of the nones of September, [3 Sept.] On the very day of the coronation, about that hour of the solemnity at which the Son was being sacrificed to the Father, a commencement was made in the city of London, of sacrificing the Jews[3] to their father, the devil; and so long was this celebrated mystery prolonged, that the holocaust could scarcely be completed on the second day. Other cities and towns of the kingdom emulated the faith of the Londoners, and with equal devotion despatched to hell their bloodsuckers by a bloody death. Everywhere throughout the kingdom was there at that time some vengeance, but with unequal rigour, in store for the wretches; Winchester alone, a people prudent and far seeing, and a city always acting with a due regard to civil rights, spared its worms. Never has that city done anything with excessive haste; fearing nothing more than to be obliged to repent, it calculates the issues of events before it thinks of the beginnings. It was unwilling without due provision, at any risk to itself, violently to vomit out through its parts the indigestion by which it was oppressed, and took due care of its bowels; in the mean time concealing under an air of moderation its uneasiness,

[1] A reference to Henry the second and his issue.
[2] So styled because crowned king during his father's life.
[3] See William of Newburgh, pp. 556, 563, *seqq.*

until when the fit time for the cure came, it could at once and for ever throw out the disease and that which fed it.

§ 4. It was not without many muttered exclamations of wonder, that a bat was seen in the clear noonday to flit through the monastery, circling unseasonably round and round in the air, but chiefly round the throne of the king.

§ 5. On the very day of the coronation an occurrence happened at Westminster, an occurrence, too, presaging some portent, so that at that time one might scarcely speak of it in a whisper. It befel that the first bell on that day was sounded at Compine the last hour of the day, no one of the convent, nor the very servants of the church, remarking it until after it was beat, although prime, tierce, sext, nones, the solemn service of vespers and of two masses, had been celebrated without the sounding of any bell.

§ 6. Stephen of Marzai, seneschal of Anjou under the late king —that great and powerful subject, singularly fierce, and the master of his master—was taken, thrown into prison, and dragged to Winchester, where, made a spectacle to angels and men, emaciated by a course of wretched starvation, broken by the weight of irons, he was compelled to a payment of thirty thousand pounds of Anjou money, and to a promise of fifteen thousand more, for his ransom. Ralph of Glanville, the ruler of the kingdom of the English, and the eye of the king, a man inferior to Stephen in nothing but morals and riches, who had been deprived of his power and thrown into prison, redeemed himself by a payment of fifteen thousand pounds; so far, at least, as to be allowed to go and return in freedom. And although this name, Glanville, had been of so great weight in bygone days, a name above every name, so that each person to whom God had granted it spoke amongst princes and was adored by the people, on the next morning there survived not one upon the earth to be called by this name. The ruin of those two, Stephen and Ralph, was what it is certain has ruined a thousand persons before them, and may ruin others after them; namely, a presumption engendered by his friendship with a former lord.

§ 7. John, the brother of the king, who was the only one of the sons of his mother, queen Alienor, who survived his brother, over and above the earldom of Moreton, which he had long ago enjoyed by the gift of his father, was so vastly enriched, and his authority so extended in England, that it was the private and public talk of many, that the king had given up the idea of returning to his kingdom, for that his brother (who by this time had grown equally powerful with himself) would not, unless he put a check upon his natural disposition, scruple, under the influence of a lust for rule, to drive him back again out of the kingdom.

§ 8. The time for king Richard to perform his pilgrimage was now pressing, since he was unwilling that he who had been the first of all the Cisalpine princes to take up the cross, should be the last to set out. A king, worthy of the name of a king, who in the first year of his reign left the kingdom of England for Christ's sake, almost as

though he were departing never to return; so great was the devotion of the man, so suddenly, swiftly, and rapidly did he run, nay, rather fly, to avenge the wrongs of Christ. However, giving way a little to his anxiety for the welfare of the kingdom, while the greater matter rested in his mind, and having obtained authority from the high pontiff to take away the cross from whomsoever of his subjects he pleased, for the purpose of providing for governing his state, he in the first place (and as was thought by many, wisely) made Hugh de Pusac, bishop of Durham, chief justiciary of the whole kingdom; moreover, creating the veteran bishop a new earl of Northumberland, and having offered to him the custody of as many castles as he wished, he diligently extracted from his coffers ten thousand pounds of silver. Godfrey Fitz-Peter, William Briwere, and Hugh Bardulf, having had the cross taken away from them, and received permission to remain at home, the king's treasurer poured into the royal purse the whole contributions of the three, like three nuts. All the sheriffs of the kingdom incurring the displeasure of the king by some trifling accusation, were deprived of their mischievous power, and with difficulty, even by the mediation of an incalculable sum of money, obtained permission to see his face. Ralph de Glanville, than whom no one in his time had been more eloquent while he retained his excessive power, having become from a prince a private person, was reduced to such a state of stupefaction through grief, that his son-in-law, Ralph de Ardenna, lost by his babbling what he had gained by the wisdom of his mouth. He also, being old and unable to bear labour, had he been willing to give as a benediction to the king that, whatever it was, which remained after the imposition of the fine, might easily have obtained a remission of the toil of the pilgrimage. The king took sureties from the petty kings of the Welsh and Scotch, that while he was on his pilgrimage they should not pass beyond their own boundaries to injure England.

§ 9. Godfrey, the son of the celebrated Richard of Luci, Richard the treasurer, Hubert Walter, and William of Longchamp, four men of no mean virtue and merit, were elected at Pippewell to the four vacant sees; namely, Winchester, London, Salisbury, and Ely. Each was canonically elected, especially the bishop elect of Winchester, who was the first, that is to say, on the seventeenth day of the kalends of October [Sept. 15], to be nominated to the dignity; the election of the three (the consent of the king, and the confirmation of the archbishop, having been obtained to what had been done, although in the first instance he had entertained different wishes) having been deferred to the morrow. In this election it happened strangely that the person who had, by the agency of the archbishop, been nominated to one of the sees, died on the very day of his nomination. William, bishop elect of Ely, by a present of three thousand pounds of silver, reserved to himself the king's seal, although Reginald, the Italian, offered over and above another thousand. The bishops elect of Winchester and Salisbury were consecrated by Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, at Westminster, on the eleventh day of the kalends of November [Oct. 22].

On that very day, Hugh de Nonante, bishop of Coventry, laid a plaint before the archbishops and bishops, convoked for the ordination of the bishops elect, in respect of his monks of Coventry, complaining that they had laid violent hands upon him, and had shed his blood in front of the altar. He had, also, before the plaint, expelled from the church a great part of the congregation, nor did he rest from his unjust conduct, until he obtained the signatures of all the bishops to the high pontiff, by way of attestation against the monks.

§ 10. Godfrey, bishop of Winchester, mindful of his profession, striving to regain the possessions which had been taken away from his church, (since in the two manors, namely of Meones and Weregrave, no one had any claim against the church of Winchester,) recovered them by a judicial order, having first privately given to the king three thousand pounds of silver. Nor did the circumspect man forget with one hand to make a composition with the king, for the indemnity of the treasure of the church; for his patrimony, for the earldom of Hampshire, and for the wardenship of the castles of Winchester and Porchester. And because the time for paying so large a sum was close pressing, since he could not exceed the day fixed for the payment without the loss of his whole claim, and could find under heaven no more ready subsidy, he reluctantly laid his hand upon the treasure of the church, for the restitution of which also he entered into an obligation for himself and his successors, securing the convent by the testimony of a sealed deed. He was a man of such benignity and moderation, that he never, not even when angry, inflicted any punishment upon those below him which did not savour of kindness. Truly he was of the family of him, and one of the family of him of whom it is said "Under him to live is to reign."

§ 11. The king in the most officious manner disburdened all whose money was a burden to them, giving to each at his pleasure the powers and possessions which they chose. Whence he, once joking familiarly with some in his presence, burst forth into this banter, "If I could have found a purchaser, I would have sold London." Many, had it not been dropped too late, might have been warned by this saying not, according to an English proverb, to learn to become a skilful merchant, by buying for a dozen and selling for one and a half.

The Year of our Lord One Thousand One Hundred and Ninety.

§ 12. In the year of the incarnation of our Lord, one thousand one hundred and ninety, the king crossed the channel to Normandy, having delegated the care of the whole kingdom to the chancellor. Richard, bishop elect of London, and William, of Ely, were consecrated by archbishop Baldwin, at Westminster, on the second day of the kalends of January [Dec. 31, 1189]. William de Mandeville, earl of Albemare, died at Gisorz, in a delirium produced by the greater semitertian ague. His relict, a woman, almost a man, to whom nothing of the man was wanting excepting a man's parts, was

taken to wife by William de Fortibus, a soldier a thousand times proved in arms, by the gift of king Richard, with all the honours of her former husband.

§ 13. William, bishop of Ely, and chancellor of the king, by nature a second Jacob, although he had not wrestled with an angel, presentable in person, and making up for the brevity of his body by the largeness of his mind, secure in the affection of his lord and presuming on his good will, (because all power ever has been, is, and always will be, impatient of a partner,) drove Hugh de Pusac from the exchequer; and with nothing but the sword with which he had been girded as a knight by the hand of the king, and hardly that left to him, in a short time deprived him of the honour of the earldom which he enjoyed. And in order that the bishop of Durham might not be the only one to lament his wrongs, since he, more cruel than any wild beast, spared no one, the pest also attacked the bishop of Winchester. The wardenship of the castles, and the earldom, were taken away from him, nor was he even allowed to enjoy the possession of his own patrimony. The kingdom was in confusion. The injured parties accuse him to the king of disaffection. They all cross the channel to importune the king against the tyrant; he, however, got the start of them in crossing the sea, and in the presence of the king gave in a few words a false account of the whole course of his proceedings and exactions. From him he received the fullest instructions for his future conduct, and having successfully laid impediments in the way of the adverse aims of his rivals, was on his way home before they who impeached him could have obtained an audience with the king. Accordingly, he returned to England powerful and prosperous, as having succeeded to the utmost of his desire. On the return of the king from Gascony, where he had by his arms suppressed the robbers, and taken from them their strongholds, they who were aggrieved by the chancellor had an interview with him, and he giving to each the satisfaction which they claimed, sent them back to the chancellor with such letters as they then desired. John, bishop of Norwich, himself one of those who were threatening Saladin, and who had furnished himself with full equipment for the journey and the cause, while travelling on the confines of Burgundy, fell among thieves, by whom he was stripped of all his provisions for the way. He, having no means remaining of continuing his journey, directed his steps to the high pontiff; and after he had, with an insinuating address, shed tears over his misfortune and helplessness, the clemency of the highest see absolved him from his vow, and dismissed him home.

§ 14. The bishop of Winchester, having been seized with a severe illness, rested quiet for some time on the other side of the channel. The bishop of Durham reached London in great haste; but being refused a reception by the barons of the exchequer, he, as though assured of success, without any delay hurries after the chancellor, who, at that time, had set out towards Lincoln on an expedition. Having overtaken him, he saluted him on the part of the king, not in plain terms or without a wrinkled brow, and then proceeded to

address him in a supercilious tone about the affairs of the state; as though nothing could be done without his assenting nod. He burst forth with bombast and seven-leagued words; and, while glorifying himself excessively in a power which he had not yet got, he, careless to whom he was speaking, let out all that should have been kept secret. When he had ceased speaking, the baton of the king is produced to enjoin silence. The sacred and very revered letter of the king is exhibited for recital. The mountains labour, a ridiculous mouse is born. Profound silence is imposed while the king's mandate is read. All were hushed, and in deep attention held their tongues. The epistle is read in public, though it would have been more to be feared if its reading had been deferred. The subtle chancellor, well-skilled in concealing his craftiness, deferred till the seventh day his answer to what had been heard, and appointed a meeting at Tikehelle. On the appointed day the bishop of Durham came to the castle, and having ordered his companions to wait before the door alone, or with few attendants, entered to the chancellor. He who had before kept silence is the first to speak, and compels the deceived bishop to recite with his own mouth a letter obtained subsequently to that which was first read, and subversive of all his hopes. When he was preparing to answer, the chancellor subjoined, "The other day, while you were speaking, it was my time to be silent; now understand that it is time for you to be silent and for me to speak. My lord the king lives. You will not go out from hence until you have given hostages for the delivery up of all the castles which you hold; since I do not take you as a bishop a bishop, but as chancellor a chancellor." The dupe had neither firmness nor power to resist; hostages are given, and at the end of the appointed term the castles are delivered up in return for the hostages. William, bishop of Worcester, the immediate successor of Baldwin, went the way of all flesh.

§ 15. The lord bishop of Winchester at length becoming convalescent in Normandy, and wishing to recover that of which he had been stripped, returned with the greatest possible rapidity, and found the chancellor besieging Gloucester castle. On his arrival becoming known, the chancellor comes forward to meet him, and after embracing him closely and kissing him, says, "My dearest friend, you have arrived at the very moment when I wished. Must we press the siege or desert?" "If," replies the bishop, "you desire peace, lay aside your arms." The quick-witted chancellor understood the force of the words, and ordered the heralds to sound a retreat; he also restored to the bishop, without dispute, his patrimony, but restored nothing besides. All the rest, who had crossed the channel to speak against the chancellor, took less than nothing by their journey. William, legate of the apostolic see, held a council at Westminster, in which, in order that nothing might be done which could afford a subject for talk against him in future, decreed first of all, that all the religious order should be removed from the church of Coventry, and that prebendary clerks should be substituted in the place of the monks.

§ 16. William, the admirable bishop of Ely, chancellor of the

king, and justiciary of the kingdom, triple-titled and triple-headed, in order that he might use both hands instead of the right alone, and that the sword of Peter might aid the sword of the general, undertook the office of legate of the whole of England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland; obtaining it from the high pontiff at the instance of the king, who refused to set out on any other terms, by means of Reginald, bishop of Bath. Happy, therefore, in the attainment of every object of his ambition, he went through the kingdom, and returned like a flash of lightning.

The king of Erebus, that very old firebrand between the church of Salisbury and the monastery of Malmesbury, having added fresh fuel, stirred the ancient spark alive into renewed flames. The abbot is cited, not now to compel him to make his profession to the pontiff, to lay aside at the same time the title and staff of pastor. A letter of the king was obtained to the chancellor, by which the abbot should be compelled to answer in law to the demands of the bishop. Nor was the man, whose interest was at stake, whom no danger could ever surprise unawares, who never lost anything through sloth, unmindful of himself. He drove back nail by nail, having been presented with a letter disaffirming the other letter. The chancellor observing the shameful contradiction in the prince's mandates, fearing that if they were to proceed in the cause the reputation of the king might suffer by what had occurred, adjourned the whole proceedings on both sides till the return of the king.

§ 17. King Richard exacted an oath from his two brothers, John, his brother by the same mother, and Godfrey, a bastard, that they should not enter England within the first three years of his pilgrimage; the three years to be computed from the day of his setting out from Tours. He, however, at the prayer of his mother, dispensed so far with the oath, as regarded John, as that he should come into England with the leave of the chancellor, and abide by his decision, and according to his pleasure should either stay in the kingdom or be exiled from it.

The dowry of queen Alienor upon all the king's lands was recognised by an oath and given over to her; so that she who had before that time lived on the public treasury might thenceforward live on her own property. The king's fleet having sailed from its own shores, makes the circuit of Spain, and having entered the Mediterranean sea, which further on is called the Greek sea, from the ocean by the straits of Africa, arrives at Marseilles, there to wait the king. The king of France and the king of England, having held counsel together at Tours, and again at Vezelai, having confirmed the treaty between themselves and their kingdoms, and having disposed and ordered according to their pleasure all matters, both on one side and on the other, separate with their different armies from one another. The French army, fearful of sea sickness, goes by land to Sicily; the English designing to travel by water, meets its fleet at Marseilles. Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, and Hubert Walter, bishop of Salisbury,—the only ones of the mitred bishops of the whole of England who performed their vows,—follow the king to Sicily, and are first to arrive at the land of Judah.

§ 18. The monks of Cluny have not been accustomed to supplant one another in their priorates or offices by importunity or bribes, and yet one of them has once attempted something of the sort, which, at the same time, we have seen punished with well-merited animadversion. There was a certain venerable man, prior of Montacute, a man altogether made up of virtues, Jocelin by name, in whom you could discern nothing but what was commendable. To supplant this good man there came a certain person whose name it is not necessary to mention, one of his false brethren, with a letter obtained from the abbot of Cluny, by such artifice as he knew how to use, in which the prior was commanded to give place to the bearer of those presents, and the congregation to receive him as prelate. The prior, beforehand, had received information what wares the merchant had come to seek, and therefore, without waiting for the mandate, vacated his seat in the chapterhouse, in the presence of the convent, and said to him, "Friend, wherefore hast thou come?" Hesitating for a long time, so that he might appear to be receiving against his will what he had come to seize, at last he betook himself to the seat, and continued uttering imprecations upon himself, saying, "O Thou, who governest the world with perpetual wisdom, whose power sports with human affairs, who pullest down the powerful and exaltest the humble, O just Judge, Jesus Christ, if I wrongfully preside here, quickly and manifestly vouchsafe to show." See a miracle. On that very day he lost his speech, on the day following his life, on the third day consigned to the earth; he learnt by experience and taught by his example that plunder meanly acquired never thrives in the event. A certain monk of Glastonbury, from a hope of promotion, courted earl John with numerous gifts; but just when the opportunity for getting it was at hand, a beam suddenly slipped and fell upon his face, and he, bruised and altogether disfigured, lost at once his eggs and his money.

§ 19. The ships, which the king found ready at hand on the shore, were a hundred in number, and fourteen vessels[1] of great burthen and extraordinary swiftness, vessels strong and perfect, whose equipment and order was as follows. The first of the ships had three spare rudders, thirteen anchors, thirty oars, two sails, three sets of ropes of all sorts; and in addition to these, a double set of all that a ship can require, except the mast and cockboat. The command of the ship is assigned to one very skilled captain; and fourteen servants, picked for the service, are placed under him. The ship is laden with forty horses of price, trained to arms, and with every sort of arms for the same number of horsemen, and for forty foot soldiers, and fifteen sailors, and with victuals for that number of men and horses for a whole year. The equipment of all the ships was similar; each, however, of the larger vessels received a double store and freight. The treasure of the king, which was exceedingly great and invaluable, was distributed among the ships and larger vessels, that, in case one part should be perilled, the rest might be saved. This being the equipment of the vessels, the

[1] Buccæ, "busses;" see Du Cange.

king in person with his retinue, and the chiefs of the army with their attendants, leave the shore and precede the fleet in galleys; quartering themselves day after day on the maritime cities, and taking for their use the larger ships and vessels of that sea, after a prosperous voyage they put into Messina. So glorious was their appearance as they approached the shore, such was the clashing and glitter of arms, so loud was the blaring of trumpets and clarions, that the city trembled with fear, and the people without number, and of every age, came to meet the king, telling with wonderment how much more glorious and terrible was the landing of that king than that of the king of France, who had arrived with his forces on the seventh day before him. The king of England measured out a camp outside the city, since the king of France had already been received into the palace of Tancred, the king of Sicily, within the walls. On the same day the king of France, learning of the arrival of his companion and brother, flies to meet him, nor with all their embraces and kisses were their gestures able to express the joy which each of them received from the presence of the other. The armies cheer one another with mutual applause and conversation, just as though those thousands of men had one heart and one soul. In these delights the holiday was prolonged until the evening, when the kings, wearied but not yet satiated, separated, and each returned to his own quarters. The king of England, on the morrow, lost no time in causing a gallows to be erected outside the camp, to hang robbers and thieves upon. The judges to whom these duties were delegated spared neither age nor sex; for foreigners and natives there was the same law and the same punishment. The king of France concealed and hushed up all the wrongs which his subjects did or suffered; the king of England, indifferent as to the country of those who might be involved in a charge, considering every man his own subject, suffered no wrong to remain unpunished: whence the one was called by the Griffones a Lamb, the other received the name of a Lion.

§ 20. The king of England sent ambassadors to the king of Sicily, to demand his sister Johanna, formerly queen of Sicily, and her dowry, with a golden chair, and the whole of the legacy which king William had bequeathed to king Henry his father; namely, a golden table twelve feet in length, a silken tent, a hundred first-rate galleys with all necessary equipments for two years, sixty thousand silinas of wheat, sixty thousand of barley, sixty thousand of wine, twenty-four golden cups, and twenty-four golden plates. The king of Sicily attaching no weight to the bidding of the king of the English, and paying no attention to his demands, sent his sister back to him with the mere furniture of her bedchamber, royally, however, vouchsafing to give her a million terrini for her expenses. On the third day following, the king of England, crossing the great river del Far, which separates Calabria from Sicily, entered Calabria in arms, and took there a tower with very strong defences, called la Banniere; and driving out the Griffones, placed his sister there, and secured the place with an armed force. Again the king took a very strong castle called

the Griffones' monastery, on the banks of the river del Far, situated between la Banniere and Messina, and after having taken it he fortified it; and as to the Griffones who had resisted, he mercilessly exhausted them by a variety of sufferings, and made them a laughing stock to his army. Wido, king of Jerusalem, sent a message to Philip, king of the French, and Richard, king of the English, who were wintering in Sicily, that the rest of the Christians, who were bivouacking before Acre, by reason of their own unruly wills, or the attacks of the Pagans, would be obliged either to retire or surrender, unless speedily reinforced. For their assistance the kings sent Henry, earl of Champagne, Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, Hubert, bishop of Salisbury, and Ralph de Glanville, with a strong army; of whom archbishop Baldwin and Ralph de Glanville died in the siege of the city called by the Latins Acre, and by the Jews Accaron, while the kings still stayed behind in Sicily.

§ 21. The Griffones, before the arrival of king Richard in Sicily, the most powerful of all the potentates of that country, who had always detested the Ultramontanes, now under the irritation of their recent mishaps, burnt with more bitter hatred against them, and observing peace with all who owned the king of the French as their king, sought for vengeance for all their injuries from the king of the English, and his tail-bearing subjects; for the petty Greek and Sicilian tribes gave to all the followers of this king the name of English and tail-bearers. The English are by an edict refused all mercantile intercourse with the country; they are put to the sword day and night in bodies of forty and fifty, wherever they are found unarmed. Day by day is the slaughter multiplied, and it was resolved to proceed in this insane fury until they should succeed in destroying them all to a man, or in putting them to flight. Aroused by these tumults, the king of England, that fierce lion, roared horribly, conceiving a rage worthy of so noble a beast. His raving fury terrified his most intimate friends; the court is also terrified. The chosen chiefs of the army sat around the throne, each according to his rank, and it would have been very easy to read in the countenance of the president the secret brooding of his mind, had any one been bold enough to raise his eyes to his face. After a lengthened and profound silence, the king gave loose to his indignant speech in the following words:—

§ 22. "My soldiers! The strength of my kingdom and my crown! My companions in a thousand dangers! who have by your strength vanquished for me so many kings and cities, do you see that we are now insulted by a cowardly mob? Shall we rout Turks and Arabs, shall we be a terror to nations the most invincible, shall our right hand make us a way to the bounds of the earth to regain the cross of Christ, shall we restore the kingdom of Israel, who have shown our backs to the vile and effeminate Griffones? Shall we, defeated here on the very confines of our country, go any further, to render English cowardice to the bounds of the earth a byeword? Is this recent cause of grief, which I feel, not a sufficiently real one? I fancy indeed that you may be deliberately husbanding

your strength, that hereafter, perchance, you may have more strength to fight with Saladin. I, your lord and your king, love you; I am solicitous for your honour, I tell you, and warn you again and again, that if you depart now, disgraced and unavenged, the vile reputation of this retreat will go before you. Old women and children will rise against you, and confidence will supply each of your enemies with double strength against a set of runaways. I know that he who preserves a man against his will does the same as though he killed him. The king will retain no one against his will. I will force none of you to stay with me, lest, in the contest, the panic of one should shake the confidence of a comrade. Each shall follow the course he chooses, but I will either die here or avenge our common wrongs. If I go from hence alive, Saladin shall only see me as a conqueror; you will fly, and leave me, your king, to face the struggle alone."

§ 23. Scarcely had the king finished his speech, when all his brave and valiant followers raised a shout of applause, disturbed alone at their lord's appearing to distrust them. They promise that they will heartily obey whatever he enjoins—prepared to penetrate mountains and brazen walls. Let him lay aside his frown. Let him but give the word, and the whole of Sicily shall be subjected by the sweat of their brow; let him express the wish, and the whole land, to the very columns of Hercules, shall run with blood. When the clamour was hushed and suppressed by the authority of the king, "What I hear," he says, "pleases me; you cheer my heart, in that you are eager to throw aside your reluctance. And because, when persons are prepared, procrastination is ruin, delay must be removed, that whatever we design may be suddenly executed. First of all, I will take Messina. The Griffones may either ransom themselves, or be sold. If king Tancred does not immediately satisfy me for the dowry of my sister, and the legacy of king William, which falls to me as the representative of my father, his kingdom shall be laid waste, and he shall be compelled to restore each fourfold. All booty shall belong to the soldier who first seizes it. With my lord, the king of the French, who rests in the city, alone, and with his followers, let perfect peace be observed. Let two thousand horsemen, picked from the whole army, whose hearts are not in their shoes, be equipped within two days, and a thousand archers on foot. Let the law be observed without remission. Let the foot soldier who flies at full speed lose his foot. Let the knight be stripped of his belt. Let each in their proper order, according to military discipline, be distributed in the lines, and on the third day let them follow me at their head, to show them the way to the city." The assembly is broken up with hearty applause, and the king, having smoothed his contracted brow, seemed by the serenity of his countenance to thank them for their good-will.

§ 24. It fell out wonderfully, that not even the king's enemy could argue that his cause was unjust. On the third day [4th Oct.], on which the army was to have been led forward, early in the morning, Richard, archbishop of Messina, the archbishop of Mon-

treal, the archbishop of Risa, Margaritus Admiralis, Jordan de Pin, and many other of the friends of king Tancred, taking with them Philip, king of the French, the bishop of Chartres, the duke of Burgundy, the earls of Nevers and of Perch, and many followers of the king of France; also, the archbishops of Rouen, the bishops of Evreux and Bayeux, and all who were thought to have any possible influence over the English, came respectfully to the king of England, to offer him such satisfaction as he should require for his complaints. The king, after much and long solicitation, yields to the instance of men of such dignity, and lays the decision of the terms of peace upon the intercessors themselves. They would consider what wrongs he had submitted to, and would take care that he should not have to consider the terms of the pacification as too light for the injury. He will be satisfied with whatever their common deliberation should think sufficient, provided only that from that moment none of the Griffones should lay a hand upon his subjects. The intercessors were rather surprised than rejoiced at an answer so unexpectedly mild; and giving up to him the last proposition, they sat down by themselves, out of sight of the king, to debate the remainder.

§ 25. The king's army, having been on the preceding day numbered with its full complement, had been waiting from sunrise in arms outside the camp for the herald, and the framers of the peace, obstinately disagreeing in their deliberations, had protracted the affair till the end of the third hour of the day, when, mark! suddenly and unexpectedly a too audible voice exclaims before the doors, "To arms! soldiers, to arms! Hugh Brun is taken and murdered by the Griffones; all his property is plundered, and his followers are slain." The shouts that the peace was broken threw into confusion those who were treating about its terms, and the king of France burst forth into the following exclamation, "I am convinced that God hates these men, and has hardened their hearts, that they may fall into the hands of the tormentor;" and, returning immediately, together with all those who had been with him, to the pavilion of the king, he found him already putting on his armour, and addressed him in these brief words, "I will bear testimony before all men, whatever may happen, that you will be free from blame if you now take up arms against the accursed Griffones." He spoke and departed. Those who had come with him follow, and are received with him into the city. The king comes forth armed; the terrible standard of the dragon is borne before him unfurled; the blast of the trumpet gives the signal for the army to move after the king. The sun shone upon the golden shields, and the mountains reflected their brightness. They advanced cautiously and in order, and the whole matter was done without vain show. The Griffones, on the other side, with the gates of the city shut, stood armed on the bulwarks of the walls and towers, as yet fearing nothing, and kept incessantly casting their darts upon the enemy. The king, who knew hardly anything so well as how to storm cities and overthrow castles, first suffered them to exhaust their quivers, and thus, at length, made the first

assault with his archers, who formed the van of the army. The sky is covered with a shower of arrows. A thousand darts pierce the shields, placed as a defence in the intervals of the bulwarks; nothing could preserve the rebels against the force of the javelins. The walls are left without a guard, because no one could look beyond them, without in the twinkling of his eye having an arrow in it.

§ 26. In the meantime the king advanced with his troops without resistance to the gates of the city, as freely as though he had had permission to do so; and, having applied the battering ram, sooner than it takes to tell it, shattered them to pieces, and, leading in his army, took all the fortified parts of the city up to the palace of Tancred, and the dwelling-houses of the French around the residence of their king, which he spared out of respect to his lord the king. The standards of the victors are placed upon the towers of the city in a circle; and he assigned the surrendered fortifications amongst the chiefs of the army, one to each; and caused his nobles to take up their quarters in the city. He took, as hostages, the sons of all the nobles of the city and province, that they might either be ransomed according to the valuation of the king, or that the rest of the city should be surrendered to him unconditionally, and that satisfaction should be made to him by king Tancred for his demands. On the fifth hour of the day he determined to begin the assault of the city; and succeeding in taking it at the tenth hour, he recalled his army, and returned victorious to the camp. King Tancred, on receiving the message which announced to him the event, hastened in terror to make a composition with him, sending him twenty thousand ounces of gold in lieu of his sister's dowry, and twenty thousand ounces of gold in lieu of the legacy of king William, and in consideration of his observing a perpetual peace with him and his subjects. That pittance of money is received with much reluctance and indignation; the hostages are given up, and a firm peace is sworn to by the nobles on both sides.

§ 27. The king of England, as yet putting but little faith in the natives, erected a new wooden castle of great strength and height near the walls of Messina, and, by way of insult to the Griffones, named it "Mategriffun." The valour of the king was much glorified, and the land was silent in his sight. Walter, who had become, from a monk and prior of St. Swithin, at Winchester, abbot of Westminster, died on the fifth of the kalends of October [27th Sept].

§ 28. Queen Alienor—an incomparable woman, beautiful and modest, influential yet moderate, humble and learned, (qualities which are very rarely found in a woman,) who was old enough to have had two kings for husbands, and two kings for sons, even now indefatigable in any labour, and whose endurance was the admiration of her age—taking with her the daughter of the king of Navarre, a girl more learned than beautiful, followed the king her son; and having overtaken him, while he was yet staying in Sicily, came to Risa, a city abounding in every good, and proper for her reception, to await there the king's pleasure with the ambassadors

of the king of Navarre and the virgin. Many know what I wish none of us knew. This very queen, in the time of her former husband, was at Jerusalem. Let no one speak more on that head: I know it well. Be silent.

In the Year of our Lord one thousand one hundred and ninety-one.

§ 29. The first conference between the earl of Moreton, the brother of the king, and the chancellor, on the subject of the wardenship of certain castles, and the grant of money out of the exchequer, which had been made to the earl by his brother, was held at Winchester at the festival called "Lætare Hierusalim," [4th March]. Robert, prior of St. Swithin, at Winchester, having given up his priory and abandoned his profession, from grief (or, shall I say, devotion?) lowered himself into the sect of the Carthusians. Walter, prior of Bath, had before him, under the influence of similar fervour, or madness, taken the same step; but, having been once drawn back, the idea of returning seems to be the last to enter his head.

§ 30. The king, however, who had long ago sworn to the king of France that he would take to wife his sister, whom his father, king Henry, had provided for him, and whom he had for some time closely guarded, entertaining suspicions of the sort of protection in which she had been kept, contemplated marrying the girl whom his mother had brought with her: and, in order that he might attain without difficulty the gratification of the desire with which he was vehemently inflamed, he summoned and consulted the earl of Flanders, a most eloquent man, and possessed of an invaluable tongue. At his mediation the king of France released the king of England from his oath to marry his sister, and claimed from him in perpetuity the quiet possession of the whole territory of the Vexin and Gisors, with the receipt of ten thousand pounds of silver.

§ 31. The king of France, preceding the king of England with his army, trusted himself to the sea, on his voyage to Jerusalem, on the third of the kalends of April [30th March]. The king of England, when on the point of leaving Sicily, caused the castle which he had built to be dismantled, and placed on board his ships the whole materials to be carried with him. He had now ready on board every sort of machine for the storming of fortifications, every sort of arm which the mind of man could devise. Robert, the son of William Fitz-Ralph, was consecrated bishop of Worcester, by William de Longchamp, who was still legate at Canterbury, on the third of the nones of May [5th May]. The convent of Canterbury deposed their prior, who had been placed over them by archbishop Baldwin, and substituted another in the place of him who was deposed.

§ 32. Walter, archbishop of Rouen, being, as is the character of the clergy, pusillanimous and timorous, having saluted Jerusalem afar off, voluntarily suffered all his indignation against Saladin to abate, and gave to the king, who was going to fight on his behalf, all the provision for the journey which he had brought with him,

and the cross; forgetting every feeling of honour, and using as a pretext that devotion which is the offspring of diffidence, the most wretched of mothers, to the effect that pastors of the church ought rather to preach than to fight—that it was not becoming in a bishop to bear any arms but those of virtue. The king, however, who thought his money more necessary than his personal presence, approved of his alleged reasons, as though convinced by an overwhelming argument, released him from his engagement, and sent him back to England with a letter from himself to the chancellor, directing that he should be maintained out of the public purse for three years, on condition of providing a certain number of men and horses; to which was added, at the end of the letter, as a compliment and a general direction, that the chancellor should use his counsel in the affairs of the kingdom. Warned by the conduct of this archbishop, the king purged his army, not permitting any one to accompany him unless he were able in body and willing in spirit to bear arms; nor did he allow those who turned back to carry away with them the money which they had brought with them so far. The queen, his mother, who had, as was becoming, been received with every honour, and who after loving kisses had been splendidly sped on her way, he caused to return with the archbishop, keeping with him the girl whose hand he had sought, and entrusting her to the protection of his sister, who had now returned to the camp to meet her mother.

§ 33. John, bishop of Exeter, brought his last day to a close.

Savaric, archdeacon of Northampton, one of very many who had followed the king of England from England to Sicily, was presented by the king, in the presence of the king's mother, with letters patent to the justiciaries of England; containing the assent, and something more than the assent, of the king to his being promoted to any vacant diocese to which he should be elected. This letter Savaric sent to his kinsman, the bishop of Bath, while he himself went to Rome, as being a person well known to the Romans.

§ 34. Richard, king of England, by a letter addressed to England, bidding farewell to his kingdom, and making particular mention of the honour to be paid to the chancellor, having got ready his fleet, which was rather well equipped than numerous, with a chosen and brave army, with his sister Johanna, and the betrothed virgin, and with all things which could be necessary for persons who were going on military service, or who were setting out on a distant journey, spread his sails to the wind on the fourth of the ides of April [10th April]. This fleet consisted of one hundred and fifty-six ships, twenty-four "busses," thirty-nine galleys; the whole number of vessels was two hundred and nineteen.

§ 35. The archbishop of Rouen came to England to the chancellor, by whom he was honourably received and entertained, and much more splendidly than the king had commanded. Close upon him followed others with many mandates, all of which had this conclusion, "all must obey the chancellor." His brother John, especially, was enjoined by each messenger to adhere to the

chancellor to protect him against all men, not to violate the oath he had taken. The king of England enjoined the chancellor, the convent of Canterbury, and the bishops of the province, to consult canonically and in common for the good of the metropolitan see, since, by the death of Baldwin, it was destitute of a prelate. With respect, however, to the abbacy of Westminster, which was now vacant, permission is granted to the chancellor to order it according to his sole will and pleasure. About the third hour of the day an eclipse of the sun took place. Those who are ignorant of the causes of things wondered that, at mid-day, while no clouds obscured the sun, its rays shone more faintly than usual; others, however, who are engaged in the study of the universe, say, that the fact of an eclipse of the sun and moon signifies nothing.

§ 36. No sooner did John, the brother of the king, who had for a long time been listening for the news, know for certain that his brother had turned his back upon England, than he paraded the country with a more numerous retinue; nor did he check his followers when they named him the heir of the king. And as the earth is wont to become dreary at the absence of the sun, so the face of the kingdom was altered at the absence of the king. All the nobles are roused, camps are strengthened, towns are fortified, ditches are cleaned. The archbishop of Rouen, who was not only well aware of what was impending, but who also was the originator of the deception, bestowed his smiles upon the chancellor in so cunning a manner as at the same time not to displease his rivals. Writs are privately sent round to the barons, to the clergy, and the people, and the minds of each are excited against the chancellor. The feelings of the soldiers were willingly but secretly in unison with the earl; but the clergy, more timid by nature, did not dare to give in their allegiance to either party. The chancellor, though perceiving this, concealed his knowledge, disdaining to be convinced that any one in any respect had the presumption to dare to attempt anything against him.

§ 37. At length the pot is uncovered: it is announced to him that Gerard Camville, a man factious and lavish of his allegiance, had done homage to earl John, the brother of the king, for the castle of Lincoln, the wardenship of which is decided to belong to the inheritance of Nicolaa, the wife of the same Gerard, but under the king. The act appears in its results to affect the crown, and a determination is made to go and avenge the offence. Accordingly, having speedily collected a large army, he came into those parts; and having first of all made an assault upon Wigmore, he compelled Roger of Mortemare, under a charge of having conspired with the Welsh against the king, to surrender the castle and to abjure England for three years. On his retiring, he is blamed by his accomplices for the want of heart, in that, although strongly garrisoned by the soldiers of the castle, and abounding in resources, he had, before a blow was struck, fallen before the naked threats of a priest. The reproof, coming after his fall, was too late; Roger departs the kingdom, and the chancellor gives orders for the siege of Lincoln. Gerard was there with the earl;

and his wife Nicolaa, with nothing of the woman in her heart, defended the castle like a man. While the chancellor was entirely taken up with Lincoln, earl John seized upon the castles of Nottingham and Tikehulle, both places of great strength, having compelled their wardens, by mere fear, to surrender. He added, also, a command to the chancellor to raise the siege, otherwise he would avenge the wrongs of his vassal. "It was not right," he said, "to deprive lawful men of the realm, well-known and free, of their wardenship, and assign them to unknown strangers; his having entrusted the castles of the king to such persons was a proof of his folly, because they might leave them accessible to any chance comer. The castles would be open to any passing barbarian with no more difficulty than he himself had found; and he was determined no longer in silence to suffer his property and his brother's kingdom to be left undefended."

§ 38. The chancellor, wonderfully disturbed at these proceedings, summons to his presence the nobles and chiefs of the army, and commences his address, "By my credit, that man is seeking to subjugate the kingdom. His presumption is premature, even though he had a right to wear the crown in alternate years with his brother; for Eteocles has not yet completed a year upon the throne." After this fashion he burst forth with many expressions of his pain; and then, taking courage again, (for he was greater in heart than in body,) and conceiving some great project in his mind, he sent to the earl the archbishop of Rouen, commanding him in royal fashion to restore the castle, and to answer before the king's court for the infraction of his oath to his brother. The archbishop, clever at building with both hands at once, lauded the firmness of the chancellor; and then setting out to the earl, after explaining to him the mandates he had received, whispered in his ear, that whatever others might say, he, if he were ambitious to be anybody, would dare something great—something worthy of bonds and a prison. In public, however, he recommended that the earl and the chancellor should have an interview, and that the final determination of their differences should be referred to arbitration.

§ 39. The earl, more than angry at the impropriety of the mandates, became so changed in his whole person as to be hardly recognised. Rage furrowed his brow with wrinkles, his eyes sparkled with fire, a livid hue discoloured the roses of his face; and I know not what would have become of the chancellor if he had fallen, like an apple, into his hands as he brandished them about. His indignation, suppressed within his breast, grew to such a height that some of the veins broke forth in wind. "The son of perdition, the worst of the bad, who was the first to bring over from the French fops to the English the preposterous fashion of genuflexion, would not vex me, as you see he does, if I had not refused to learn the new science which was offered me." Stronger expressions, whether true or false, he wished to use, but recollecting his senses so as to respect the presence of the archbishop, and repressing his rage, he says, "If I have spoken wrongly, archbishop, I crave your pardon."

After this trifling they applied their minds to the business; the mandates of the chancellor were debated, and about mid-day both the recommendations of the archbishop as to the conference are agreed to. The day is fixed on the fifth of the kalends of August [28th July], the place outside of Winchester. The chancellor assented to this arrangement, and, raising the siege, returned to London.

§ 40. The earl, however, fearing the subtlety of the chancellor, hired to oppose him four thousand Welsh mercenaries, in order that, if the chancellor should endeavour to seize him during the truce, they, lying in ambush close to the place of conference, might burst forth and frustrate his attempt. Besides this, he ordered that all his vassals and others who loved him, who were in a fit state to bear arms, should be summoned, and be asked to accompany him, at the place and day appointed for the interview which he had undertaken with the lord of the whole land, but which he looked upon with suspicion, in order that, at all events, he might escape with his life, if that more than king, although less in his eyes, should contravene the law of the court, or refuse to agree to the arrangement. On the other hand, the chancellor gave orders to every third soldier to come at the appointed day fully armed to Winchester; he also, out of the king's rents, hired Welsh mercenaries, so that, if he and the earl must fight, he might have equal forces, and javelins threatening javelins.

§ 41. They met at the conference, according to the arrangement which I have related; and, as chance would have it, it terminated better than was feared. The meeting there between the earl and the chancellor was after this sort, and the following provisions were made:—In the first place there are nominated three bishops, those of Winchester, London, and Bath, upon whose fidelity both parties securely relied. These bishops elected, on the part of the chancellor, three earls, those of Warrenne, Arundel, and Clare, and certain eight others, who were named; on the part of the earl, they elected Stephen Ridel, the earl's chancellor, William de Venneval, Reginald de Wasseville, and certain eight others, who were named. All these swore, some by looking upon, some by touching, the holy Gospels, that they would see that satisfaction was made between the earl and the chancellor in their complaints and disputes, to the honour of both parties and the peace of the kingdom; and if any difference should hereafter break out between them, they would faithfully terminate it. The earl, also, and the chancellor swore that they would consent to whatever the aforesaid jurors should arrange; and the following was the arrangement: Gerard de Camville, having been restored to the favour of the chancellor, was continued in safety and in peace in the wardenship of the castle of Lincoln; the earl restored the castles which he had taken; and on their restoration the chancellor entrusted them to faithful and liege subjects of the king: namely, the castle of Nottingham to William de Wenneval, and the castle of Tikehulle to Reginald de Wasseville; and each of these gave a hostage to the chancellor that they would guard those castles in peaceful obedience and fidelity to their lord the king, if

he should return home alive; but that, if the king before his return should yield to fate, the aforesaid castles should be restored to the earl, and the chancellor should restore the hostages; that the constables of the castles who had been promoted by the earl should be removed by the chancellor, if he could show any reason for their removal; that the chancellor, in case of the king's death, should not seek to disinherit the earl, but should use the utmost of his power to raise him to the throne. This was solemnly concluded at Winchester, on the seventh of the kalends of May [25th April].

§ 42. The chancellor, with extraordinary and urgent importunity, induced first of all a portion of the monks, and afterwards the whole congregation of Westminster, to permit his brother, a monk of Caen, to profess as a member of Westminster, so as, by reason of his profession and membership, to be unanimously chosen to the office of abbot; and in order that this scheme might not be frustrated it was preserved in writing, and the seal of the church affixed in testimony.

§ 43. Geoffrey, the brother of king Richard and earl John, but not by the same mother, who had been consecrated archbishop of York at Tours by the archbishop of Tours, by mandate from the high pontiff, solicited, by more than one message, John, the brother of the king, and his own, to give at least his assent to his returning to England; and, upon its being granted, he prepared to return. The intercommunication between the brothers did not escape the chancellor, who, fearing that their naturally perverse dispositions would become worse by their uniting, gave orders to the guard of the coast, that wherever that archbishop, who for the three years of the king's pilgrimage had abjured England, should land within the district, he should be refused permission to proceed, unless by the advice of the jurors to whom the earl and the chancellor had referred all the differences which might fall out between them.

§ 44. One Robert, prior of Hereford, a monk, who thought no little of himself, and who was glad to obtrude himself into other people's affairs, in order to mix up his own with them, had, by the command of the chancellor, gone to join the king in Sicily, where, after attending to the other matters, he did not forget himself; since he, by teasing every one by every sort of importunity, was successful in obtaining from the king the grant and confirmation of the abbacy of Muchenia. On the possession of this, he, by the agency of the chancellor, contrary to the will of the convent, entered neither canonically nor with the benediction; and on the first day afterwards, at the first meal, eating too voraciously and too heartily of fresh eels without wine, he fell into a swoon, produced by the undigested food upon his inflamed stomach: and, to prevent his swoon being ascribed to gluttony, he caused an imputation of having given him poison to be thrown upon the monks.

§ 45. Geoffrey, the archbishop of York, presuming on the consent of John, his brother, having prepared his ship, put in at Dover; and being restored to the land, lost no time in seeking a church to perform his orisons. There is, at that place, a priory of

monks of the profession of those of Canterbury, whose oratory he entered, in company with his clerks, to hear mass, while his attendants were busied in unloading the ships. By this time the whole of the baggage was on land; when suddenly the constable of the castle ordered whatever was thought to belong to the archbishop to be drawn into the town, understanding more by the mandate of his lord the chancellor than it warranted. Some of the soldiers also, with arms under their cloaks, and girded with swords, came to the monastery to seize the pontiff; but no sooner did he see them, than, anticipating their purpose, he took the cross in his hands, and addressing them first, and extending his hands over his followers, he said, "I am the archbishop, if you seek me, yet suffer these to depart." The soldiers replied, "Whether you are an archbishop or not is nothing to us; one thing we know, that you are Geoffrey, the son of king Henry, whom he begat in some bed or other, and who, in the presence of the king, whose brother you assume to be, have abjured England for three years. If you have not come into the kingdom as a traitor to the kingdom, if you have brought a letter of pardon, either tell us, or be kicked." Then the archbishop says, "I am not a traitor, nor will I show any letter to you." Straightway, before the very altar, they laid hands upon him, and violently dragged him against his will, and struggling against them, but using no violence in return, from the church; and no sooner was he removed beyond the threshold, than, in their presence and hearing, and while they yet held him, excommunicated those who had laid hands upon him, and refused to accept a horse which was offered to him to ride with them to the castle, because it was the property of persons who were excommunicate. Regardless of all humanity, they dragged him with their hands, on foot and bearing a cross, through the mud of the streets to the castle. After all these indignities they were graciously willing to deal courteously with their captive, giving him a share of the better provision which they had prepared for themselves; he, however, rendered firmer by what he had already suffered, rejecting their food as a thing idolatrous, refused to live on anything but his own. The rumour flies swifter than the wind through the country; they who had accompanied their master follow him at a distance, relating and complaining to all how the archbishop, the brother of the king, had been thus dragged, thus handled, thus kept in prison.

§ 46. The archbishop had been now three days in prison, when the chancellor, as soon as what had befallen became known to him, restored all his property to him, and gave him liberty to go wherever he wished. Besides this, he wrote to earl John, and to all the bishops, asserting, with an oath, that the aforesaid man had suffered the injuries which I have described without his cognisance. The excuse profited him little; for the occasion which spontaneously offered itself to his prejudice—one which had been long looked out for, and purchased by their vows—was seized and kept hold of more tenaciously than birdlime. The darers of this bold act, who had laid hands upon the archbishop—its abettors

and privies in a body—are specially excommunicated by every church in the whole kingdom, in order that at all events the chancellor might be involved in the general curse, and become odious to all.

§ 47. Earl John, sharpening his teeth against the chancellor, whom he hated, in the presence of each of the bishops and the chief men of the kingdom, deposited a very voluminous plaint, complaining of the infringement by the opposite party of the convention, and of the peace which they had then sworn to observe, by the seizure of his brother, to his dishonour. The jurors are summoned, and conjured to stand by their sworn promise; and, in order that worse may not come of it, to cause that faith-breaker and perjured to wipe out, by a proper satisfaction, his delinquency. The affair, which had up to this point been dealt with in its immaterial matters, now comes to an issue. The chancellor is summoned, by the valid authority of all the mediators between himself and the earl, to meet them at a place near Lodbridge, on the third day before the nones of October [5th Oct.], to make answer to the accusations of the earl, and to obey the law.

§ 48. The earl, with a great portion of the nobles of the kingdom, all favourable to himself, had for two days waited for the chancellor in the spot appointed for the interview; and on the third morning he sent some of his followers on to London, while he himself still waited on the spot appointed for the interview, to see if he who was expected would either dare or vouchsafe to come. The chancellor, fearing some danger from the earl to himself, and looking with suspicion on the judges, put off coming to the place for two days; on the third day, (for as each man's conscience suggests so he conceives in his breast hopes of, or pain for, his undertaking,) wavering between hope and fear, he set out for the interview; when, lo! a faithful vassal of his, Henry Bisset, who had seen the attendants of the earl, who had been sent on, passing by, spurring his horse at full gallop, came to meet the chancellor, pledging his word that the earl had the day before gone armed to seize London; and who was there on that day who would refuse to receive as gospel whatever that man, with no intention of lying, might say? Nor did he lie; for he thought that what he had said was true. The chancellor, deceived, as men are liable to be, for this once, forthwith caused all the soldiers who were with him to arm themselves; and imagining that he was following close upon the heels of the earl, he arrived before him at the city. The citizens, on being requested by him, as the earl was not yet come, to shut the gates against him, refused, called him a disturber of the land, and a traitor. For the archbishop of York, anticipating what would come to pass, while sojourning there for some days, in order to see the result of the negotiation, had, by constant complaints and prayers, excited the feelings of every one against him; and he then, for the first time perceiving that he was betrayed, fled for refuge to the Tower; while the Londoners kept watch by land and sea to prevent his escape. The earl, having heard of his flight, and following him with his forces, was received by the citizens in

triumph with lanterns and torches, for he arrived at the city in the night-time; and nothing was wanting in the salutations and adulations of the people, except these words, "Chere basileus!" that is to say, "Hail, dear lord!"

§ 49. On the morrow the earl and all the nobles of the kingdom met in St. Paul's church; when first of all the complaint of the archbishop of York was heard, and after it whoever had anything against him was admitted. The accusers of the absent chancellor had a full and attentive hearing; and particularly that fluent Hugh, bishop of Coventry, lately his most intimate friend, who (for there is no worse plague than a familiar enemy) spoke more bitterly and perversely against his friend than all the others; nor did he stop until they all cried out, "We will not have this man to reign over us." Thereupon the whole assembly, without any delay, appointed earl John, the brother of the king, chief regent of the whole kingdom; and passing a resolution that he might grant the wardenships of the castles to whomsoever he wished, they left three only of the less strong, and situated at a great distance from one another, to him who was now, so far as name, and name only, was concerned, chancellor. The chief justice next to the earl, the justices itinerant, the keepers of the treasury, the constables of the castles, were appointed afresh, and given to fresh people. Among those who then received places were the bishop of Winchester, who received absolutely the wardenships which the chancellor had conferred on him, and the lord of Durham, who received the earldom of Northumberland.

§ 50. That ill-omened day was sinking towards evening when four bishops and the like number of earls, sent on the part of the assembly, explained literally to the chancellor the acts of the whole day. He was horror struck at their unexpected audacity and presumption, and, his breath failing him, he fell upon the ground so exhausted from loss of blood as to emit foam from his mouth. Some cold water having been thrown upon his face he revived, and standing upright on his feet he darted a scowling glance at the messengers: "The only safety for the conquered is to hope for none. You have defeated and bound me unawares. If the Lord God grant that I see with my eyes my lord the king, that day, be assured, will shine upon you to your cost. As far as is in your power you have now given to the earl all that was the king's. Tell him Priam yet lives. Ye who, forgetful of your king who yet lives, have chosen another to be lord over you, tell that lord of yours that the event will go otherwise than he thinks. I will not surrender the castles; I will not resign the seal." The messengers, on their return, related to the earl what they had heard; and he gave orders for the Tower to be closely blockaded.

§ 51. The chancellor for a great part of the night (for he who does not apply his mind to honourable pursuits and business will be tormented the whole night through with envy or love) lay sleepless, while in the meantime his followers torment him even more than his conscience, prostrating themselves before his feet, and begging him with tears to yield to necessity, and not to try to

swim against the torrent. He, though unbending as iron, is softened by the piteous counsels of those who stood weeping around him; again and again did he faint from grief, and at last granted a reluctant assent to what he, destitute of all aid, was compelled to do. This being done, one of his brothers, and three of his attendants of no ignoble birth, by his permission, not by mission, announced to the earl, at the very same hour of the night, that the chancellor, with what feelings mattered not, was prepared to suffer and to do whatever they had settled. Let him not delay, for when all is ready delay is hurtful. On the morrow it might be that so favourable a wind would not offer itself, so that it would be put off for a year. They return to the Tower; and before day the earl made known to his adherents what was being done.

§ 52. In the meanwhile the rising Aurora left the ocean, when the earl, the sun having risen, came with his whole troop into the open plain situated outside of London towards the east; thither also the chancellor came, but less early than his adversaries. The nobles occupied the middle, and close around them was a circle of citizens; the general spectators were below, to the number, as was estimated, of ten thousand. The bishop of Coventry was the first to approach the chancellor, recapitulating each of the accusations of the past day, and always adding something of his own. "It is not," said he, "decent or tolerable that the cowardice of one man like this should so often oblige so many noble and honourable men, from such distant parts, to meet for nothing. And because it is better to suffer pain once than always, I will conclude everything in a few words. It does not please us, because it is not expedient, that you should have any further power in the kingdom. You will be content with your bishopric, and with three castles which we have indulgently given you, and with the shadow of a great name: you shall give sufficient hostage for the surrender of the rest of the castles, and as a pledge against your stirring the porridge or planning insurrections, and afterwards you will be able to go free wherever you will." Upon this many people said many things; no one spoke against it. The lord of Winchester, although more eloquent than many of them, alone was silent throughout. At length the chancellor, having with difficulty obtained permission to speak, says, "Shall I be a listener only, and never reply? Before all, know ye, each and every one of you, that I feel that I am accused of nothing that should make me fear to look any of you in the face. I protest that the archbishop of York was seized without my knowledge and contrary to my wish, and I am ready to prove it either before the civil or ecclesiastical tribunals, if you admit it. For whatever I have done with regard to the escheats of the king and his wards, Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, William Briwere, Hugh Bardolf, whom I received as counsellors from the king, if permitted to speak, would satisfy you on my behalf. I am ready to render an account of the reason why, and upon what, I have expended the money of the king, to the last farthing. I do not shrink (I must do it because he compels me) from giving hostages for the surrender of the castles, although in

this I feel more anxiety for the king's sake. I do not lightly esteem the name which I am yet to retain, and which you cannot take away. In short, be it known to all that I resign voluntarily none of the administrations which the king placed in my hands. You in large numbers have circumvented me singly. You are stronger than I; and I, the chancellor of the king, and justice of the kingdom, tried in a manner contrary to all law, yield, because it is necessary, to the more powerful." The sun declining to the west brought the allegations of the parties to a close; two brothers of the chancellor that was, and a third person who had been his private chamberlain, are received as hostages. The council is dissolved and the keys of the Tower of London restored on the sixth day before the ides of October [10th Oct.] The chancellor set out for Dover, that being one of the three castles of which mention has been made; and the earl delivered all the strong places of the land, on their surrender to him, to whomsoever he wished and in whom he trusted most.

§ 53. Forthwith messengers are sent both by the condemned and his condemners to the king himself in the land of promise, each on their several parts prepared with fit materials to accuse or excuse. The former nominal chancellor, in despair at the recollection of his lost power and his present condition, contrives in every way to escape the prohibition to cross the sea, and was rendered ridiculous in more than one shape and on more than one occasion. I say nothing about his having been caught in a monk's habit and a woman's dress, and retained, because it is much and too much to remember what valuable furniture, what multifarious treasures, the Flemish stripped him of when he at length succeeded in reaching Flanders. As soon as his having crossed the sea became known, all his rents in England are confiscated. There arises a terrible contest between terrible opponents. The chancellor suspends the diocese which had been taken from him, and he stigmatizes with and involves in a curse its invaders. Nor was the bishop of Rochester more deficient in spirit, who, to avenge himself on William de Longchamp for having presumed to excommunicate the officers of the treasury, ordered it to be proclaimed through Normandy that he was excommunicated. Yet he was unwilling to appear to fear the curse upon the invaders of the aforesaid bishopric, nor did he deign to believe that the sentence of a fugitive prelate could ascend to the throne of his majesty. The face therefore of the church of Ely was foul; there is rest from all the work of the Lord through the whole diocese, the corpses of the dead are thrown out unburied in every village. In Normandy, in return, no one of the archbishops communicated with the chancellor; on his arrival every church is suspended, and on his departure all the bells are sounded, and the altars where he celebrated the mysteries thrown down.

§ 54. Two legates from the pope, despatched to France at the instigation, as is reported, though secret, of the king of the French, came to Gisors to visit Normandy, which, they had learnt, formed a chief part of the kingdom of the French. These the constable of the castle and the seneschal of Normandy refused to admit,

defending themselves under this shadow of a reason, that there ought to be no visitation of a province without the licence or presence of the lord of the land, and that all the kings of the English, and Richard particularly, had been specially presented with this privilege by the apostolic see. This allegation, whether true or probable, influenced the legates nothing; their power, equal to the gods, grew and swelled with pride, but it was against persons who did not fear it. The authority of the majesty of Rome, which was being contemned, is revived; they pour forth bombast and seven-leagued words. With much bitterness they threaten the resisters with a fine, yet at the same time, for they had not to plead with boys, the gates of the castle having been closed against them, they stood without its walls. Yet though repulsed they were not without their solace. They penetrated with their power where they could not approach in person. They excommunicated the castellan of Gisors, and the seneschal of Normandy, who were there, by name, and totally suspended the whole of the province from the ministry of ecclesiastical rites. Their authority was obliged to be deferred to; forthwith the church was silent, and remained so for the space of three weeks, until, the pope having been appealed to, the sentence against the persons named was remitted, and the suspension of Normandy removed. The book of liberty and the voice of joy was restored to Normandy, and the legates were prohibited from setting foot there.

§ 55. The monks of Westminster, who before those days had been so spirited as to refuse to taint their acts, though death were the consequence, no sooner saw that the times were changed, than they themselves changed with the times, and, throwing into the back-ground all their understanding with the chancellor as to his brother, with the connivance of the earl elected the prior of their house to the abbacy, and he obtained the benediction and the staff without delay from the bishop of London. The brother of the chancellor, who, by the previous arrangement, ought to have been elected abbot, seeing that the convent was breaking their agreement, retired in confusion with his broken honour; carrying with him, nevertheless, the deed of security, in order that, after his having made an appeal before the second election in the presence of lawful witnesses, nothing might be done against the promotion which had been secured to him.

§ 56. The archbishop of Rouen having been appointed by the earl justiciary of the kingdom, and head of affairs, having convoked the clergy and laity to Canterbury, to consult about electing an archbishop, determined to act, as the king himself had enjoined upon him. The bishops of London and of Winchester, however, were not present, being detained on the king's business in London; and a question having arisen between the bishops who had assembled, as to which of them should seem to take precedence, and in whose hands the election ought to be, since the two aforesaid bishops, who were the first in rank, were absent, the prior of Canterbury, untying the knot of the difficulty, made them all equal in the election of the pontiff, coming forward publicly with his monks,

and before the face of the whole church electing to the archbishopric, from the body of the clergy, Reginald, bishop of Bath.

§ 57. Reginald, archbishop elect of Canterbury, on the point of starting, if the fates would spare him, for Rome, to receive the pall, having completed the solemnities which are usual at elections, came to set things in order in the church of Bath, which he loved much, and by which he was more loved. It is said also that he had obtained the assent of the prior and convent, and had received security for the election in his place of Savaric, archdeacon of Northampton. On his return from thence he fell ill by the way, and lay exceedingly ill at his manor of Dokemeresfeld. There, seeing that nothing was nearer to him than death, he received the habit of a monk at the hands of Walter his prior, who was then sojourning with him; and on receiving it he spoke thus, "God has not willed that I should be archbishop, and I do not will it; God has willed that I be monk, and I will it." Also, being in extremities, he produced the king's letter to the justices about the grant to Savaric of whatever diocese he should be canonically elected to, and gave it to the prior of Bath, in order that, by the authority of this instrument, he might be more speedily promoted. Then, having with devotion and in a sane mind performed all the requirements of faith and penance, he rested in the Lord on the seventh day before the kalends of January [Dec. 26].

EPITAPH.

"While Reginald was, he governed himself and his well. Let no one seek for more; he preached what he taught. If he had not seized the meadow of Suithin, death would not so soon have seized him from among us. But because he repented, death diminished his guilt. He did what he could, he gave himself up to a monastic life."

Walter, prior of Bath, and his convent, without the clergy, elected as their future bishop Savaric, archdeacon of Northampton, in his absence, and while he was still ignorant of what had befallen his relation the pontiff; and notwithstanding that the clergy resisted, they obtained their point.

§ 58. The fleet of Richard, king of England, put out to sea, and proceeded in this order. In the van there went three ships only, in one of which was the queen of Sicily, and the damsel of Navarre, perchance yet a virgin; in the two was some portion of the king's treasure; in each of the three were men to defend them and victuals. In the second rank there were, between ships, and "busses," and men-of-war, thirteen; in the third, fourteen; in the fourth, twenty; in the fifth, thirty; in the sixth, forty; in the seventh, sixty; in the last followed the king himself with his galleys. There was between the ships and between their lines a space left by the sailors with such prudence, that from one rank to another the voice of a trumpet, from one ship to another the voice of a man, could be heard. It was also a subject of wonder that the king was no less sound in body and mind, no less brave

and powerful, no less active and nimble on the sea, than he was used to be on land. I conclude, therefore, that there was no single man in the world, either by land or sea, stronger than he.

§ 59. Accordingly, while some of the ships were taking the lead of the others in the aforesaid manner and order, two of the three first, driven by the violence of the winds, were dashed upon the rocks near the port of Cyprus; a third, an English vessel, turning short round into deep water more rapidly than they, avoided the danger. The crews of both ships, for the most part, escaped to land alive; but the Cyprians falling in with them slew many of them, took others prisoners, while some, flying for refuge into a church, were blockaded. The prince, also, of that island, coming up, received as his share the gold and arms, and caused the shore to be watched by all the armed men whom he could get together, so as not to allow the fleet which followed to put to shore, and the king to retake what he had stolen. Above the port was a strong city, and upon a natural rock a lofty and well-fortified castle. The whole of that people is warlike, and accustomed to live on plunder. At the entrance to the port they placed beams and trunks of trees, doors and gates, and the whole land with their whole spirit prepared for battle against the English. God willed that the accursed people should receive retribution for their evil deeds from no pitying hands. The third English ship, in which were the women, having cast anchor, waited out at sea, and kept a close look out from opposite the shore, preparing to relate to the king what had befallen, in order that he might not chance, from ignorance of the loss and the dishonour, to pass the place without vengeance. The rank in which the king's ships were came up after the second line, and they all stopped on reaching the first ship. The repeated rumour reached the king, who, having sent ambassadors to the lord of the island without obtaining any of his demands, ordered every man in the army, from first to last, to be armed, and, disembarking from the large ships, to follow him to the shore in the galleys and boats. The command is quickly obeyed; they come in arms to the port. The king, in armour, was the first to leap from the galley, and struck the first blow in the battle; but before he could strike a second he had three thousand of his followers by his side striking with him. In a moment all the wood that was placed to obstruct them in the port is thrown down, and the brave men rush up into the city, not more gentle than lionesses usually are when their whelps have been taken from them. Against them the inhabitants fight manfully; the wounded now of one, now of another fall, and the swords are drunk with the blood of both. The Cyprians are defeated, the city is taken, with the castle; the victors plunder as they please, and the lord of the island himself is captured, and brought before the king. The prisoner asks pardon, and receives it; he offers homage to the king, and it is accepted; and he spontaneously swears that from this time forward he will hold the island of him, as his liege lord, and will throw open and expose to him all the castles of the land, will restore the damage, and make largess out of his own property. After this

oath he is dismissed and ordered to complete the compact in the morning.

§ 60. On that night the king lay in the castle, while his sworn subject fled and retired to another castle, and caused every man of the land who could bear arms to be summoned to attend him; and so it was done. The king of Jerusalem, however, on that same night touched at Cyprus, in order to meet the king, and salute him whose arrival he had desired more than that of any man in the world. On the morrow the lord of Cyprus was sought for, and was found to have fled. The king seeing that he had been cheated, as soon as he was assured of the fact gave directions to the king of Jerusalem to follow the traitor by land with half the army, while he himself led round the other half by water, wishing to prevent his escape by sea. The two parts of the army met round the town into which he had fled; and he, having made a sally against the king, engaged the English, and the battle was fiercely contested by both sides. The English would that day have been conquered, had they not fought under Richard. At length they obtain a dear-bought victory, the Cyprian flees, and the castle is taken. The kings follow him, as before, the one by land, the other by water, and he was blockaded in a third castle. Its walls are thrown down by balearic slings, whirling immense stones; the crushed prince promises surrender, on condition only that he be not put into iron chains. The king assents to the prayer of the suppliant, and orders silver shackles to be made for him. Having thus taken the prince of the pirates, the king made a tour of the whole island, took all its castles, placed his own wardens in each, appointed justices and sheriffs, and the whole land was completely subject to him just as much as England. The gold, and silk, and jewels, from the treasure-houses that had been broken open, he retained for himself; the silver and victuals he gave to the army. To the king of Jerusalem, also, he made very large gifts out of his new acquisitions. And as Lent had now passed, and the proper time for contracting had come, he caused Berengaria, daughter of the king of Navarre, whom his mother had brought to him in Lent, to be betrothed to him in the island.

§ 61. After this occurrence, having regained the ships, and while on a prosperous voyage to Acre, he fell in with a merchant ship of very great size, despatched by Saladin to the blockaded city, laden with victuals and armed forces—a wonderful ship, the biggest ship, except that of Noe, that has ever been read of. Upon this the valiant man rejoiced, because he everywhere hit upon an object for his valour; and, summoning the galleys of his followers to his own, he was the first of the warriors to engage in a naval battle with the Turks. The ship was defended with towers and bulwarks, and they fought with a desperate madness, because to the conquered the only safety is to hope for none. Dire was that assault, sturdy was the defence; but what is so hard that the hard soldier cannot subdue? The idolaters are vanquished; that ship, the queen of ships, is broken up and sinks, like a piece of lead in the raging waters, and all their possessions perished with the possessors.

Pursuing his course thence, the king came to the blockade of Acre, and was received by the blockaders with as much joy as if it had been Christ who had returned to the land to restore the kingdom of Israel. The king of the French had arrived before him at Acre, and was highly esteemed by the inhabitants of the country; but when Richard arrived after him, he became completely forgotten and nameless, just as the moon loses its light on the rising of the sun.

§ 62. Henry, count of Champaigne, who had by this time expended all the provisions and money that he had brought with him, came to his king; he demanded assistance, and his king and lord offers him a hundred thousand Parisian pieces; provided, however, that he will pledge Champaigne to him. Whereupon, the earl said, "I have done what I could, and what was my duty; I must now do what necessity compels. I wished to serve under my king, but he has not received me, except for the sake of my property. I go to him who will receive me, who is more ready to give than to receive." Richard, king of the English, upon Henry, count of Champaigne, coming to him, gave him four thousand bushels of wheat, four thousand fat pigs, and three thousand pounds of silver. Thus the whole army of strangers who, from every Christian nation under heaven, had long ago and before the arrival of the kings met at the blockade, on the report of this extraordinary liberality received him as their leader and lord. The French alone, who had followed their lord, remained quiet with their poor king of the French.

§ 63. The king of the English, who brooked no delay, on the third day after his arrival at the blockade caused to be built and erected his wooden castle, which he had made in Sicily and named Mate Grifun; and before the dawn of the fourth day the machine stood close to the walls of Acre, and looked down with its height upon the city beneath it; and the sun having now risen, archers from above kept incessantly discharging missiles upon the Turks and Thracians. Engines for throwing stones also, stationed in fit places, kept battering the walls by frequent volleys; more destructive than these, sappers, opening a way for themselves underground, undermined the foundations of the walls, and soldiers bearing shields, placing ladders to the walls, secured for themselves an entrance by the bulwarks. The king himself ran to and fro through the troops, instructing some, reproving others, encouraging others; and so completely was he present everywhere and by every man, that to his single hand ought to be ascribed the exploits of each. The king of the French, also, was himself no sluggard, and he made an assault as good as he could upon a tower of the city, named "the Cursed Tower."

§ 64. At that time, Carracois and Mestoc, illustrious men, and, next to Saladin, the most powerful princes of the heathen, had the command in the beleaguered city; and they, after a contest of many days, promised, by interpreters, the surrender of the city and a ransom for their lives. The king of the English, however, wished to conquer them in their desperate state by force, and desired also

that, when conquered, they should pay their heads for the redemption of their bodies; but, by the proposal of the king of the French, life and indemnity to their limbs was accorded them, provided that after the surrender of the city, and the giving up of all that they possessed, the cross of our Lord were restored.

§ 65. All the heathen in Acre were the choicest warriors, and in number nine thousand; very many of whom, swallowing a number of pieces of gold, made a purse of their belly, because they foresaw that if they should refuse to restore the cross, whatever of any value was found upon them would become the plunder of the victors. Accordingly, having come out in a body to the presence of the kings without the city, completely unarmed and without money, they are put into custody; and the kings, entering the city with triumphal banners, divided it with its contents into two halves, one for themselves, the other for the soldiers; the bishop received the pontifical seat alone, by the general gift. Moreover, on the division of the captives, Mestoc fell by lot to the share of the king of the English, and Carracois, like a drop of cold water, fell into the feverish mouth of the thirsty Philip, king of the French.

§ 66. The duke of Austria, having been one of the former blockaders of Acre, and who had followed the king of the English in an equal participation of his portion, by having his standard borne before him, seemed to claim for himself a share in the triumph. Whereupon the standard of the duke was, if not by the command, at least with the approbation, of the offended king, thrown down into the mud and trampled upon, to his disgrace and ridicule. The duke, though burning violently against the king, concealed the wrong which he could not avenge, and returning to his station in the blockade, he that night set it up again, and betook himself to his tent; and as soon as possible afterwards, full of rage, he sailed back home.

§ 67. Messengers having been sent, on the part of the captives, to Saladin, to treat about their ransom, and the heathen refusing by any supplications to be prevailed on to restore the holy cross, the king of the English allowing Mestoc alone, on account of his illustrious birth, to redeem his life, beheaded all his prisoners, and declared, without mincing the matter, that he had the same will towards Saladin himself.

§ 68. A certain marquis of Montferrat, a smoothfaced man, for some years past had been in possession of Tyre after its taking, and to him the king of the French sold all his captives alive, and promised the crown of the country, which he had not yet got. In this, however, he was resisted by the king of the English to his face:— "It is not becoming," said he, "that a man of your distinction should bestow or promise what he has not yet got; but, besides this, if Christ is the cause of your pilgrimage, as soon as ever you shall have snatched Jerusalem, the capital city of this country, from the hands of the enemy, you will restore the kingdom without delay or condition to Wido, the legitimate king of Jerusalem. And more, if you remember, you have not obtained possession of Acre without a participator; and, therefore, one hand has no

right to bestow what belongs to two. Ho, hoh, by God's throat!" The marquis, disappointed in his happy expectation, returns to Tyre, and the king of the French, who had desired to double his power against his rival by means of the marquis, decreased in influence daily; and to this was added, as a perpetual cautery to his mind, the consciousness that the very king of England's scullion lived more splendidly than the cupbearer of the French. After some days a letter was concocted in the chamber of the French king, by which, as though sent by his nobles from France, the king was summoned to return thither. A reason is suggested which should appear more than ample, that the life of his only son after a long sickness was now despaired of by the physicians; that France would be desolated, if after the pledge for the throne was lost, the father, as might happen, should perish in a foreign land. Accordingly, the kings, having held frequent interviews on the subject, since both were powerful and unable to live together in common, Abraham remaining, Lot departed from him. The king of the French also, by his primates, for himself and his followers, gave to the king of the English a security upon oath for his indemnity until he should return to his kingdom in peace.

§ 69. On that day the meeting of the commons of London was granted and instituted, in which all the nobles of the kingdom, and the very bishops of the province, are compelled to take the oaths. Now for the first time, by the confederacy which was accorded it, London knew that the kingdom had no king; for it would never have been permitted to take place either by Richard himself, or by his predecessor and father, Henry, for a million marks. Moreover, what evils may arrive from the confederacy may be calculated from its very definition. The meeting of the commons is the swelling pride of the people, the terror of the kingdom, and the warmth of the priesthood.

§ 70. The king of the French, returning to his country with a few followers, left the strength of his army behind him to do nothing, and gave to it as leaders the bishop of Beauvais, and the duke of Burgundy. The king of the English, having summoned the leaders of the French to his tent, proposed that their united forces should proceed to Jerusalem itself; but the dissuasion of the French broke the spirit of both sides, and cooled the ardour of the armies. and restrained the king, thus destitute of troops, from his proposed march upon the metropolis. Irritated at this, but not in despair, the king from that day separated his army from the French; and extending his wings to storm the castles along the coast, he obtained possession of all the strongholds that were in his way between Tyre and Acre, not, however, without dreadful conflicts and deep wounds. Tyre, however, not having been partitioned to him, he did not deign to approach.

In the Year of our Lord One thousand one hundred and ninety-two.

§ 71. Philip, king of the French, having left his companion, Richard, king of the English, in the land of Jerusalem, in the

midst of the enemies of Christ, and without having had an opportunity of seeing the holy cross or the sepulchre, returned to France. Geoffrey, bishop of Winchester, restored to his church a great part of the treasure, which, as has been promised, he had appointed to do, on the fifth of the kalends of February [28th Jan.]. The feast of the purification of the blessed Mary was celebrated on Septuagesima Sunday [2d Feb.], at Winchester. But the Sunday had nothing of the Sunday about it except the commemoration [1] at vespers and matins and the morning mass. One full hide of land at the manse, which is called Morstede, of the village of Ciltecumbe, was granted to a certain citizen of Winchester, by name Pentecoste, to be holden for twenty years at a yearly and free service of twenty shillings without the cognisance of the convent.

§ 72. Queen Alienor crossed from Normandy to England, and put in at Portsmouth, on the third day of the ides of February [11th Feb.]. The chancellor went to the king of the French, and laid a complaint before him as to the effects of which he had been robbed in Flanders; but he gained nothing there except what makes men laughed at.

The king of the French day and night ordered every kind of arms to be forged throughout his kingdom, and fortified his cities and castles, in preparation, as was thought, for a fight with the king of the English, if he should return from the pilgrimage. This becoming known in the land of the king of the English, his constables in Normandy, and Le Mans, and Anjou, and Tours, and Bourges, and Poictou, and Gascony, in turn fortified in every way every place capable of being fortified. Besides this, the son of the king of Navarre, irritated against the French, laid waste the province round Toulouse. A certain provost of the king of the French, wishing to become greater than his forefathers, built a castle on the confines of Normandy and France, where there had never been a fortification before. This, while it was being built, the Normans with the violence of their natural fury overthrew from its foundations, and tore to pieces bit by bit the provost himself.

§ 73. Queen Alienor, a matron worthy of all mention over and over again, visited some districts appendant to her dowry within the diocese of Ely. Wherever she passed there came out to meet her from all the hamlets and vills, men with their wives and children, not all of the lowest class,—a populace weeping and tearful, their feet bare, garments unwashed, hair dishevelled. Words failed them through grief: they spoke with tears; nor did there need an interpreter, since one might read in a page plain to all more than their words could have expressed. Human bodies lay everywhere through the fields unburied, because their bishop had deprived them of sepulture. The queen, understanding the cause of this great severity, and being of a pitying disposition, compassionating the painful feelings of the inhabitants at the sight of their dead, forthwith giving up her own affairs in favour of those of the strangers, went to London, and obtained, nay rather demanded,

[1] The commemoration of benefactors in the canon of the mass; see Martene De Antiq., Ecclesiæ Ritibus, i. 401, ed. 1700.

from the archbishop of Rouen, that the farms of the bishop which had been confiscated should be restored to him, and that the same archbishop should, in the name of chancery, be proclaimed throughout the province of Rouen as absolved from the excommunication which had been denounced against him. And who could be so harsh or iron-minded that that woman could not bend to her wishes? Forgetful of nothing, she announced to Normandy the restitution which had been obtained in England in favour of the lord of Ely, and for his public and private friends, and compelled him to revoke the sentence which he had passed upon the officers of the exchequer. Thus by the mediation of the queen the ill-concealed vexation of these restless rivals was set at rest, but the feelings contracted from their long standing hatred could not be changed, without the heart of both giving some loud indications of it.

§ 74. Earl John, sending messengers to Southampton, ordered a vessel to be got ready for him, with the intention, as was thought, of going over to the king of the French ; but the queen his mother, fearing lest the light-minded youth were, at the instigation of the French, going to form some plot against his lord and brother, anxiously turns over in her mind every art by which she could hinder the purpose of her son. No doubt the fate of her former sons suggested itself to her mind, and the premature death which their errors demanded moved and bit her mother's heart. She wished to put an end to violence, in order that, at all events, faith might be observed between her last children, and she might die a more happy mother than had been the fate of their father before them. Accordingly, having summoned the great men of the kingdom, first at Windsor, secondly at Oxford, thirdly at London, fourthly at Winchester, she prevailed upon him, after much ado, by her own tears and the prayers of the nobles, not to cross the sea at the appointed time. The earl, therefore, frustrated in effecting his proposed journey, did what he could ; and summoning to his presence, secretly, the king's constables of Windsor and Wallingford, undertook the wardenships of their castles, and after having received them delegated their custody to his sworn vassals.

§ 75. By the mandate of the archbishop of Rouen, the pillars of the church, the learned in the law, met at London, to talk, as is often the case in the consideration of the affairs of the kingdom, about something or nothing. The determination of all to convene earl John for his assumption of the castles was unanimous; but because no one could trust the other, every one, fearing his neighbour, wished that the question should be brought forward by the mouth of a deputy rather than by his own. Accordingly, while they were all giving vent to this intention, Æacus alone, for the purpose of meeting whom they had all assembled, is absent ; and not only this, but while during the debate casual mention was made of the late chancellor, lo ! again Crispinus is present. Messengers from the chancellor, now again legate, enter the audience room, saluting the queen, who was there, and all the rest whom they had thus, by chance, stumbled upon all at once, on the part

of their lord, who had happily landed the day before at Dover. The last clause of the mandate prohibited him from carrying out the administration of his office of legate. For some time they were all silent, and in excessive astonishment and deep attention held their peace. At length they all came to a determination suppliantly to invite, to become their dictator and lord, him on whom they had come to pass sentence as perjured and an offender against his lord. Accordingly, a number of the nobles, amongst whom was Echion, are sent over and over again to the earl, who was then staying at Wallingford, and laughing at these meetings. Humbly, and without a wrinkle, they entreat him to hasten to meet the goat. "Lord," say they, "he wears a horn; beware."

The earl, not much moved, allowed himself to be respectfully entreated for some time; and at length, satiated with the honour offered to him, came with the last of his entreaters, whom he had loved most, to London, sufficiently prepared to answer every question, if perchance any question should be asked. On his approach, the assembly rises and flatters him; no order of age or rank is preserved; every one who could get first hurries to meet him, and desires not to escape his notice in doing so, wishing to please the prince, because to have pleased a prince is by no means the least merit. The leaders take their seats. No mention is made of the castles; their whole complaint and consultation is about the chancellor. Let but the earl advise it, they are all ready to proscribe him. They use every means to bend the earl to consent, but on their right hand there lay a wild beast. The earl, entreated to reply, briefly begins, "that chancellor will neither fear the threats, nor beg the love of any one of you, or of all of you together, provided that he can gain my favour alone. He is to give me seven hundred pounds of silver within seven days, if I consent not to mix myself up in the quarrel between you and him. You see that I want money. I had said enough for wise men to understand." He spoke, and retired, leaving the conclusion of his proposition unexpressed. The meeting was in a strait, and their consultation brought within narrow limits; each thinks it sound wisdom to tickle the man by something more than by promises; they determine to give or to lend him money, not however out of their own funds, so that at last the whole loss falls upon the treasury of the absent king. Five hundred pounds of silver sterlings are lent to the earl, out of the treasury, by the keepers of the exchequer, and they receive, according to their pleasure, a letter to the chancellor. There is no delay; the queen writes, the clergy write, the laity write; these all unanimously recommend the chancellor to make but one step of it, and cross the sea without delay; nevertheless his ears itch to listen to rumours, and he is anxious to take up his quarters with the soldiers of the guard.

§ 76. On receiving these severe commands, the blood left the face of the confounded chancellor, and he grew pale as one who with naked heel has trod upon a snake. The only manly thing that he did was on his withdrawal to make the following answer: "Let all my persecutors know how powerful they will one day see

me, whom they have harassed. I am not, as they think, destitute of all advice. There is one who pours veracious tidings into my clear ear. As long as I am abroad, he says, bear patiently your sufferings. Every land is a brave man's country; believe one who knows; endure, and preserve your spirit for prosperous days. A happy hour, when it is not expected, will come for you and me. Unexpectedly will I come and triumph over my enemies, and my victory will once more make you a citizen of my realm which is forbidden you, and which no longer obeys me. Perchance, hereafter, the remembrance of this misfortune will be a pleasure."

§ 77. Since it was not right that Winchester should lose the reward that was due to it for preserving, as I have shown in the beginning of the book, peace with the Jews, the Jews of Winchester, anxious, after their own peculiar fashion, for the honour of their city, obtained for themselves a wide reputation of having made a martyr of a boy at Winchester; and though, perhaps, the deed was never committed, yet there was much evidence of it. The case was as follows:—A Christian boy, who had some knowledge of the art of a cobbler, had been taken by a Jew into his domestic service. He was not allowed to remain there at work for any length of time together, nor to complete any long task without intermission, lest his cohabitation should afford proof of his designed murder; and in order that finding himself better remunerated for light labour there than for heavy labour elsewhere, he might, allured by his gifts and entrapped by his wiles, be more willing to frequent the house of the devil. This boy had been French by birth, a ward and an orphan, of abject condition and extreme poverty. In an evil hour for him a French Jew took pity on his sufferings, and was repeatedly persuading him to go to England, a land flowing with milk and honey: he painted the English as liberal and sumptuous, saying that no one with an honest determined heart could die poor there. The boy, with the characteristic impetuosity of the French, ready to agree with you in anything, taking with him a companion of his own age and country, girt himself for his journey to a foreign land, with nothing in his hands but a staff, nothing in his wallet but an awl.

§ 78. He bade farewell to his Jewish friend, who said to him, "Go and be a man. May the God of my fathers guide you, as I desire!" Then, placing his hands upon his head, as if he had been the scapegoat, after certain mutterings of the throat and silent prayers, by this time, secure of his prey, he added, "Be of good cheer; forget thy people and thy land, for every land is a brave man's country, just as the sea is to the fishes, and the open world to the bird. After entering England, if you come to London, you will quickly pass through it; for I like not that city. Every race of men from every nation under heaven flocks to it; every people has introduced into it its own vices and morals. No one in it lives without crime; there is no street in it which does not abound in abominable obscenity. Every one there obtains respect in proportion to his wickedness. I am not ignorant of the character of you whom I am instructing. You have a mind energetic beyond

your years, and a slowness of memory, and, arising from these two opposites, a well-regulated reason. I fear nothing on your account, unless you consort with evil-livers; for from one's associates are the manners formed. Let this pass, let this pass! You will come to London. Lo! I warn you, there is no evil or wickedness in any particular place, or in all the world together, which you will not find in that one city. Go not near the crowds of panders; mix not with the flocks of prostitutes; avoid the dice, the theatre, and tavern. You will meet there more braggarts than in the whole of France, and the number of parasites is infinite. Stage-players, buffoons, baldpates, fellows with botched faces, flatterers, catamites, effeminates, prostitutes, lewd singing girls, quacks, fortune-tellers, night-walkers, magicians, mimes, beggars, jack-puddings, all this sort of crew have filled whole houses. Therefore, if you do not wish to dwell with the base, you will not dwell in London. I say nothing against the learned, whether monks or Jews; although, even from the very association with the evil, I should suppose them to be less perfect than elsewhere.

§ 79. "Nor do I go so far as to beg you not to betake yourself to any city, since by my advice you should make your abode nowhere but in a city; but it makes a great difference in which. If, therefore, you should land near Canterbury, you will waste your trouble even if you do but pass through it. It is nothing but a collection of wretches under their—I know not whom,—whom they have lately deified, who had been archbishop of Canterbury—wretches who die everywhere throughout the streets at mid-day from want of bread and work. Rochester and Chichester are mere villages, and there is nothing in them to show why they should be called cities, except the residences of the bishops. Oxford has scarce enough, I do not say, to satisfy, but to keep its clerks alive. Exeter feeds men and beasts on the same grain. Bath situated, or rather buried, in deep valleys, in the midst of a very thick atmosphere and sulphureous fog, is at the gates of hell. Neither should you select a residence in the northern cities. Worcester, Chester, and Hereford are on the borders of the Welsh—men reckless of life. York abounds in Scotch, filthy and treacherous men, or rather, manakins. The town of Ely is ever stinking from the surrounding marshes. In Durham, Norwich, or Lincoln, you will find but few of your condition among the influential; no one at all speaking French.[1] At Bristol there is no one who is not or who has not been a soap-maker, and every Frenchman loves soap-makers as he does jakesmen. Beyond the cities, every market, vill, or town contains rude and rustic inhabitants. Besides these, ever hold the men of Cornwall in the same esteem as you know our Flemish are held in France. For the rest, the whole of the country itself generally is very favoured by the dew of heaven and the fatness of the earth; moreover, in each place there are some good, but many less in all of them together than in Winchester alone.

§ 80. "This is the Jerusalem of the Jews in those parts: in it alone they enjoy perpetual peace; this is the school of those who

[1] "Romane," Orig.

wish to live well and to be well. Here they are made men; here there is enough of bread and wine for nothing. There are in it monks of such compassion and humanity, clergy of such wisdom and liberality, citizens who so respect the civil rights and faith, women of such beauty and modesty, that but a little prevents me from going thither and becoming a Christian with such Christians. To that city, the city of cities, the mother of them all, and better than all, I direct you. One fault, and one only, has it, in which from habit it indulges too much. By the good leave of the learned, and of the Jews I would say, the men of Winchester lie like watchmen, but it is in framing fables; for nowhere under heaven are so many false rumours fabricated so easily as there: in other respects, they are perfectly veracious. I should have much still to say to you of my own affairs; but lest perchance you should not apprehend, or should forget them, you will give this short letter into the hands of a Jew, my friend: I think that, also, you will one day be remunerated by him." The short letter was written in Hebrew. The Jew finished his address, and the boy, putting a good interpretation upon it all, arrived at Winchester.

§ 81. His awl sufficed to supply both himself and his companion with food, while the cruel kindness, and stammering affability which, to their ruin, was obtained by the letter of the Jew, formed their solace. Wherever the poor boys might work or eat separately in the day, every night they lay in one little bed in one old hut of one old woman. Days succeed to days, months to months; and in this manner our boys, whom we have up to this point traced step by step, are never absent but they are in a hurry to return to one another. The day of the adoration of the cross had arrived; when the boy, who was working on that day at the house of his Jewish master, did not appear. The next day was the passover, a feast day of the Jews. His companion, seeing that he did not return in the evening to his bed, wondered at his absence, and was terrified that night by many dreams. Having sought him in every corner of the city, and failing to find him, he asked the Jew simply if he had sent his companion anywhere; and when he saw that he who the day before was so kind gave him, contrary to his wont, an angry and bitter reply, remarking the prevarication of his words and the change of his countenance, he straightway grew warm, and having a sharp voice and great eloquence, he immediately burst forth in revilings, charging him, in loud tones, with making away with his companion. "Thou," says he, "thou son of a dirty strumpet, thou thief, thou traitor, thou devil, thou hast crucified my companion. Alas! me. Why have I not now the strength of a man? I would tear thee in pieces with my hands." His shouts in the house are heard in the street; Jews and Christians flock together from all sides. The boy pursues him, and rendered firmer by the presence of the crowd, addressing the bystanders, begins to state the facts on behalf of his companion: "O ye," says he, "O ye men who have come together, see if there is any grief like my grief. That Jew is a devil; he has torn my heart from my bosom; he has cut the throat of my only companion; I presume, also, that he

has eaten him. A son of the devil, whether a Jew or a Frenchman I know not, nor have the means of knowing, that Jew has given to my comrade his death letter to that man. Induced, nay, rather seduced, by him, he came to this city. He has often served that Jew, and in his house he was last seen." On some points a witness was not wanting; that is, so far as a christian woman went, who, contrary to the canons, had nursed Jewish children in the same house. She firmly swore that she had seen the boy go down into the Jew's storeroom, and that he had not returned. The Jew denies it; the matter is referred to judges. The accusers are defective—the boy, because he was under age; the woman, because her service with the Jews had made her infamous. The Jew offered to purge his conscience by reason of the infamy of the charge. Gold sufficed the judges. Phinees gave, and made his peace, and the disturbance ceased.

§ 82. The bishop of Chester, who from hatred to religion had ejected the monks from Coventry, razes to the ground all the offices that had been erected in the monastery, in order that, from the altered appearance of the place, in after days the remembrance of its past state might be altogether obliterated. At the same time, as if to prevent the ruins of the walls from ever bespeaking their author, the materials were found to be ready at hand by the church of the place, which was not completed; and having obtained them, without any price, he commenced to build there. Moreover, he determines to pay the stonemasons and plasterers their wages out of the goods of the monastery. He selected, for his own use, two of the principal manors of the monks; and, to insult them, made the following order,—that wherever he ate, some special dish should be obtained from the proceeds of the aforesaid manors, and presented to him at his table; determined to glory in his triumph by seeming to feed on the entrails of the monks whom he had confused by his wickedness. All the rest of their rents he partitioned amongst the prebends; some of which he attitled in perpetuity to the church of Rome, and gave the impropriations of them to certain cardinals of the apostolic see; nominating them and their canonical successors in the same titles to be canons of the church of Coventry, in order that, should any hesitation arise with the pope as to his transactions, he might make the whole court more ready to take his part. The other prebends he conferred on different people; but not a single one upon any whom he did not know for certain to be of no religion whatever. The absent canons had worked earnestly in building ample and lofty lodgings round the church, perhaps for their own use, if ever once in their life an occasion should perchance offer itself for their renting the place. None of the prebendaries—as, indeed, they do not anywhere else—resided there according to his religious vows; but, to insult God, they hired poor vicars at a moderate stipend, and building magnificent palaces before the doors, entrusted to them the holy choir, the contemned household gods, and the naked walls of the church.

§ 83. This is, forsooth, true religion; this is what every church should imitate and rival! It shall be allowed to the secular canon

to be absent from his church as long as he pleases, and to spend the patrimony of Christ where, and when, and upon whatever pleasures he likes. This only let them see to—that frequent brawling be heard in the house of the Lord. If a stranger knock at the door of these notables, if a poor man makes a claim, he who dwells before the door (himself quite a poor vicar) shall answer, "Pass on, and seek alms elsewhere; for the lord of the house is not at home." This is the glorious religion of the clergy, for the sake of which the bishop of Chester expelled his monks from Coventry,—the first of men to dare to commit so vast an iniquity; for the sake of clerks,—regulars in their irregularity,—canons, to wit, so far as they like; he ejected the monks—monks, who not vicariously, but by their own mouth, praised the Lord, who dwelt and walked in the house of the Lord, with goodwill one towards another all the days of their life, who cared for nothing earthly but food and raiment, whose bread was ever ready for the poor, whose gate was at all times open to the wayfarer; yet by such means they failed to please the bishop, who never loved monks of the monastic profession. A man of bitter speech, who, even if he ever spared any one, never ceased to utter his biting sarcasms against monks. "Monk! thou hard and unswallowable lump! Many a thousand wretches has that bolus choked and been their provision for their journey to the next world after their miserable death." If every time a monk was cut up, and bit at he were swallowed down, before many ages all religion would be swallowed down. At every time, and in every place, whether the bishop spoke in jest or earnest, a monk alway formed part of his subject. Nor did the expulsion of his monks satisfy him; but ever consistent, afterwards as before, he crunched a monk. Not being able, however, to abstain from speaking of monks, he, for fear of incurring the imputation of a backbiter, if in the absence of monks he abused the monkery, determined to keep a monk constantly with him in his court, in order that, in the presence and hearing of a monk, his talk about monks might be more pleasant. For this purpose he took as a quasi-chaplain a certain monk, scarcely an adult, but who had professed monasticism at Burton, and, to the ridicule of religion, for some time took him about with him. Oh grief, too hard to bear! Even in the angels of God is iniquity found. The monk, knowingly and willingly led about to be scoffed at, made his brow like the brow of a harlot, so as, though a monk himself, not to blush when monks were reviled. Alas! what a lust for wandering and riding! Hear me, and wait a little; you will see after what sort the riding of this rider ended. One day, when the bishop was overlooking his workmen at Coventry, the monk was standing close by his side. The bishop, familiarly leaning on his arm, says, "Is it not, my dear monk, in your opinion as well as mine, right and fit that the great beauty of this noble church, that this handsome building should belong to gods rather than devils?" While the monk hesitated at the obscurity of his words, he added, "I," says he, "call my clerks, gods; the monks, devils." Then, extending the finger of his right hand over

the clerks standing by, he continues, "Ye are gods, and all sons of the Most High." And again, turning to the left, he addressed the monks, "But, ye monks, ye shall die like devils, and, like one and the first of your chiefs, ye shall fall into hell; for ye are living devils. Of a surety, if it should fall to me to perform the ceremony for a dead monk, which I should do very unwillingly, I would commend his body and soul not to God, but to the devil." The monk, who on the spot which had been taken away from the monks did not rebuke this insult to them, for his silence on that emergency got his deserts by having perpetual silence imposed upon him; for on a sudden a stone, falling from the top of the church, dashed out the brains of the monk as he stood by the bishop, who was himself reserved for a more heavy judgment.

§ 84. Richard, king of the English, had by this time completed two years in conquering the country round Jerusalem; but without any aid from any of his lands having reached him. Nor did his only brother, the earl of Moreton, or his justices, appear to have any idea of transmitting to him his rents, or of his return. Prayer, however, was without intermission offered by the church to God for him. The king's army kept diminishing daily in the land of promise; and besides those who forfeited their lives by the sword, every month many thousands died in their beds, from the sudden changes from excessive cold by night to excessive heat by day. The fate of all, it seemed, was to die there; each had only to choose whether he would die in battle or out of battle. On the opposite side, the strength of the heathens grew more and more; their boldness increased with the ill plight of the Christians, their army was regularly reinforced by fresh soldiers, the air was their native air, the place was their country, the labour was their health, and frugality their medicine. Among the Normans, on the contrary, all this that was profit to the enemy was disastrous to themselves. For instance, if even once a week our soldiers lived too sparingly, their bodies were rendered weaker for seven weeks after. The nations of the French and English, so long as their resources lasted, no matter at what cost, feasted every day in common sumptuously, and, with deference to the French, to something more than satiety; and preserving ever the remarkable custom of the English, at the notes of clarions, or the clanging of the trumpet or horn, applied themselves, with due devotion, to drain the goblets to the dregs. The merchants of the country, who brought the victuals into the camp, unaccustomed to the wonderful consumption, could hardly credit that what they saw was true, that a single people, and that small in number, should consume three times as much bread and a hundred times as much wine as that on which many nations of the heathen, and each of them innumerable, lived. The hand of the Lord deservedly fell upon these enervated soldiers. Great scarcity followed this excessive gluttony, so that their teeth scarcely spared the fingers, when the hands offered to the jaws less than the accustomed meal. But severe and numerous as these misfortunes were, a much more heavy blow was added by the illness of the king.

§ 85. The king falls excessively sick and takes to his bed; the fever was unintermittent; the physicians muttered something about the more serious semitertian ague. At first they even despaired of his life, and this despair spread itself from the house of the king into the camp. There were but few soldiers, among many thousands, who did not meditate a dispersion; and all the terrible confusion of a dispersion or a surrender would have succeeded, had not Hubert, bishop of Salisbury, without a moment's loss of time, assembled a council. By valid reasons he prevailed upon the army not to disperse until a truce had been demanded from Saladin. "Let them all stand armed in line of battle, with a firmer front than usual, and concealing the cowardice of their hearts under a threatening countenance, let them simulate a desire for the battle. Let no one speak of the illness of the king, lest the secret of their great despondency should escape to the enemy; for it was known most certainly that Saladin feared the encounter of the whole army less than he did that of the king single-handed, and that if he knew that he was confined to his bed, he would pelt the French with cow-dung, and drench the most select English topers with a draught of fear.

§ 86. Meanwhile one Saffatin, a heathen, the brother of Saladin, a veteran warrior and wise statesman, whom the magnanimity and munificence of the king had won to love him and to favour his side, comes down, according to his custom, to see the king. The officers of the king, greeting him less cordially than usual, and refusing to admit him to an interview with the king; "I," says he, "know, through an interpreter, that you are in deep grief, nor am I ignorant of the cause. My friend, your king, is sick, and therefore you shut his doors against me." Bursting his heart with his tears, he continues, "God of the Christians, if you are a God, you will not suffer such a hero, so necessary to your votaries, to die by so premature a death." Having regained their good graces, he spoke as follows: "In all truth I tell you beforehand, that if, as affairs now stand, that man shall die, all ye Christians will perish, and the whole of this country will hereafter be ours, without a contest. Shall we fear, forsooth, that mighty king of France, who was vanquished before he could give battle? the whole force of whom, collected through three years, has been dissipated in three brief months. Should he return hither, he will return to no purpose, since we hold this to be a true augury, that those whom (I am not speaking craftily, but as I think) we find to be cowards at first, we ever afterwards find to become worse. But that king, among all the princes of Christendom whom the entire circle of the round world contains, is alone worthy of the name of leader and of king; for he has begun well, he has advanced from well to better, and he will reach the highest pinnacle, if he remains to you but a little.

§ 87. "It is no new feeling this fear of ours of the English, since report had so described the father of your king before him, that if he had come to our shores unarmed, we, though armed, should all have fled: nor would it appear to be inglorious to be put

to flight by him. He, our terror, the Man of his time, has died, but, like the phœnix, he has restored himself a thousand times better in his son. Nor did it escape us, even in the life of his father, what sort of a man your Richard was; for we never ceased to keep in those parts our spies upon his father, who reported to us the acts of the king, and the rising and setting of his sons. He was loved, as his probity deserved, by his father above all his brothers, and in the government of his subjects was preferred to his elder brothers; nor has it escaped us with what rapidity and valour, when he became duke of Aquitaine, he crushed the tyrants of the province, who had been indomitable by his grandfathers and great-grandfathers; and what an object of terror he became to all the lords of the lands round his territory, and even to the king of France himself. However,[1] he was always extending his boundaries into his neighbours'. Nor has it escaped us that of his two brothers, one at that time crowned king, the other count of Lesser Britain, because they had raised their standard against their father, he did not hesitate to impeach by the right of war, until, wearied by the uninterrupted persecution, he gave them both to eternal rest. What will be more matter of surprise, we know all the cities of your land by name; nor are we ignorant that the king of your country was defeated at Le Mans, by the treachery of his own soldiers, that he died at Chinon, and was buried at Fontevrauld.

§ 88. "I am silent, though not through ignorance, who it was that inflicted a slaughter upon us that caused us such deep regret. Oh! if that Richard whom, though I love, yet I fear, if he had been removed out of the way, how little should we now dread, how lightly should we esteem, that youngest of the sons, who now sleeps at home in clover! It is not unknown to us that Richard, who, greater than he, succeeded his great father upon the throne, in the very year of his coronation set out on his journey against us. The number of his ships and soldiers were not, even before his starting, unknown to us. We knew, even while it was being carried on, with what rapidity he stormed and took Messina, the strongest city of Sicily; and although none of us could believe the account, yet our fear was increased, and report added unfounded terrors to real ones.

§ 89. "His restless valour advanced over a boundless region, and everywhere he left emblems of his virtues. We discussed, with various opinions, whether he was preparing to subjugate merely the land of promise to his God, or the whole world at once to himself. Who can relate in worthy language the taking of Cyprus? Certainly, if the isle of Cyprus had been quite conterminous with Egypt, and my brother Saladin had subjugated it within ten years, his name would have been reckoned among nations with the names of the deities. However, from the time that we knew that he was fixedly determined to overthrow whatever resisted him, our hearts melted away, just as the hoar frost melts at the sight of the approaching sun. Moreover, it was said of him, that he even ate his enemies alive, and terror alone was the cause of his not having been admitted with open

[1] This clause is slightly defective in both MS. copies.

gates into Acre on the very day of his arrival at the city. It was from no desire to defend the city, but from horror at the torments in store for them, and despair for their lives, that they fought with the more manliness in proportion to their desperation, fearing more than death, shrinking by every possible device from, a death unavenged; and this too not from obstinacy, but from a religious belief in our faith: for we believe that the shades of the unavenged never cease from wandering about, and are without any rest. What, however, did their temerity and timidity profit the unhappy victims? Overcome by force, and compelled by fear to surrender, they forfeited their lives by a more easy death than they had hoped for; and yet, oh! shame to our tribes, their shades are driven about wandering, and wandering unavenged. I swear to you by the most High God, that if immediately upon his gaining Acre he had led his army to Jerusalem, he would not have found so much as one of us within the bounds of the land of the Christians; nay, rather, should we have given him invaluable treasures to persuade him not to advance, and not to persecute us further.

§ 90. "But, thanks to God! he was burdened with the king of the French, and retarded by him, like a cat with a hammer hanging to his tail. For the rest, we, though his rival, found nothing to find fault in him except his valour, nothing to hate except his skill in war. But what glory is there in fighting with a sick man? Even this morning, I could have wished that all you and he should have forfeited your lives, yet we must now pity you on account of the misfortune which has befallen your king. I will either demand for you, from my brother, a final peace, or at least a good and lasting truce. Until, however, I return to you, let no one of you speak to the king on the subject, lest under the influence of his emotion his sickness should grow worse; since he has so great and unyielding a heart, that though he were to die this moment, he will not consent to the transaction unless he sees his side get the better." More he wished to say, but his tongue, faltering and failing through grief, refused to conclude; and then, with his head bent down and buried in his clasped hands, he wept floods of tears.

§ 91. The bishop of Salisbury, and the more confidential members of the king's retinue who were present, having held a secret consultation with one another on the subject, assented to the truce, but only as a resource detestable and much to be regretted, though they had before proposed to purchase it at any price. Accordingly, having given and received one another's hands upon it, Saffatin, having washed his face and concealing his sorrow, returned to Jerusalem, to Saladin; and there having assembled a council before his brother, after seventeen days, he had much ado, notwithstanding his valid reasons, to bend the stubborn necks of the heathen so far as to grant a truce to the Christians. The time is settled, and the form subscribed. If it please king Richard, for the space of three years, three months, three weeks, three days, and three hours, let a truce be observed between the Christians and heathen, on the terms, that whatever one side or the other has acquired, by whatever means, shall be held undisturbed to the end of the term;

that it should be lawful for the Christians meanwhile to strengthen Acre, and no other place, and for the heathen to strengthen Jerusalem; that contracts, commerce, any act whatever, may be transacted in common between them during the peace. Saffatin, in person, is despatched to the English to announce this decree.

§ 92. While king Richard was sick at Joppa, news was brought to him that the duke of Burgundy was grievously ill at Acre. The day on which the news was brought was the critical day of the fever; and from his delight at the report his fever gave way. Thereupon the king, raising his hands, uttered a curse, saying, "May God destroy him, because he would not destroy with me the enemies of our faith, although he for a long time has served under my pay." On the third day, the duke died; and the bishop of Beauvais and his followers, when his death became known, leaving the king, came in haste to Acre. All the French from all the towns, except only Henry, earl of Champaigne, the nephew of king Richard through his sister, met him. The bishop, however, who was now their leader, took on himself to threaten them; and, proposing an edict, ordered them all to return home.

§ 93. The fleet is fitted out, and the glorious prince, retiring from the East with his smoothfaced cowards, sails over the Etruscan sea. Coming to land on the coast of Germany, he, every day of his journey, kept disseminating among the inhabitants that that traitor, the king of England, from the first moment of his arrival in Judæa, had resolved to betray his lord, the king of the French, to Saladin; that he had caused the marquis's throat to be cut, in order that he might obtain possession of Tyre; that he had made away with the duke of Burgundy by poison; and that, to crown all, he had sold wholesale the whole army of the Christians, except his own subjects. That the man was extraordinarily fierce, stern, and unamiable in manners, skilled in treachery, but, above all, skilled in dissimulation. On this account it was that the king of the French had returned home so speedily; on this account it was that the French who remained had retired from before Jerusalem, without having conquered it. This report gained strength by being widely spread, and excited the hatred of all men against one individual.

§ 94. The lord of Beauvais, on this return to France, whispered privately into the ear of his king, that the king of England had despatched assassins to France to kill him. The king, disturbed at this intelligence, appointed, contrary to the custom of his country, certain picked men as his body guard. Besides this, he proceeded to send to the emperor of Germany messengers with presents, and anxiously disposed his imperial majesty to hatred of England. Accordingly, an imperial edict commands that all the cities, and all the princes of the empire, should receive the king of the English in arms, if on his return from Judæa he should chance to set foot in their territories, and should present him to him, either dead or alive. If any one spared him, he should undergo the penalties of a public enemy of the empire. They all yielded obedience to the command of the emperor; but the most

zealous of all was the duke of Austria, whom the king of England had dismissed at Acre.

§ 95. Henry, earl of Champaigne, now the only French noble left in Judæa, returned to the king of England at Joppa; and when he had announced to him the death of the duke of Burgundy, and the retreat of the French, he so revived his hopes that a healthy perspiration was the consequence, and he became past all fear of danger. Having recovered strength of body more by his greatness of mind than from rest or food, he published an order through the whole maritime district, from Tyre to Ascalon, that all who could get ready for war should come and serve at his expense. A numberless crowd came at his summons, of whom a very great part were infantry; but rejecting them as being useless, he numbered his horse, and found that there were hardly five hundred knights, and of squires, whose masters had perished, two thousand. Nevertheless, without being discouraged at the fewness of their number, he, a masterly orator, confirmed the spirits of the timid by a preliminary speech. A proclamation is ordered to be made through the troops, that on the third day they should be drawn up in line of battle and follow the king, either to die as martyrs, or to storm Jerusalem by force. This was his final determination; for as yet he knew nothing about the truce; no one, on his unexpected restoration to health, daring to hint to him what, under the influence of fear for his life, they had presumed to do without his knowledge. Hubert Walter, however, bishop of Salisbury, having communicated to earl Henry the plan of the truce, gained his ready consent to what he wished. Accordingly, deliberating with one another as to any contrivance by which they could without peril to themselves prevent the perilous engagement, out of a thousand they saw but one; namely, if the people could be dissuaded from the battle. The affair turned out marvellously to their wishes; without any dissuasion the hearts of those who were about to engage so failed, that when on the appointed day the king, after his custom, had put himself at the head of the army, there were found of all the knights and squires but nine hundred. Excessively enraged, or rather maddened, at this defection, the king, breaking to pieces with his teeth the pine rod which he bore in his hand, at length gave loose to his indignation in the following words: "God," said he, "God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me? For whom have we fools of Christians, for whom have we English come hither into this country, from the extremity of the world, to bear arms? Is it not for the God of the Christians? Ah! how good You are to us, your soldiers, who shall now for your name's sake be delivered into the hands of the sword and become the portion of foxes. Oh! how reluctantly should I desert You in so grievous and critical a need, if I were to You what You are to me, Lord and Advocate. Of a surety, my standards will henceforth be lowered, not to my disgrace, but to yours; of a surety, Thou thyself—not through my cowardice in war—Thou thyself, my King and God, hast to-day been defeated, and not thy poor servant, king Richard."

§ 96. He spoke, and in excessive consternation regained the

camp. As it now seemed to be a fit opportunity, bishop Hubert, and Henry, earl of Champaigne, came to him in a familiar manner, as if no previous correspondence had taken place between them, and in a roundabout way solicited him about concluding the necessary composition with the heathen. To them the king replied, "Since a disturbed mind is apt to precipitate matters rather than to dictate a sound opinion, I, who am disturbed in mind, permit to you, whose mind I see is calm, to order what you think expedient for the ends of peace." Successful in their object, they chose messengers to be despatched to Saffatin thereupon; when, on a sudden, intelligence is brought that Saffatin was returned from Jerusalem, and was at hand; and the earl and bishop meeting him, and receiving his assurances of the truce, instruct him how he can get to speak with his lord the king, as being one who before had been his friend. Saffatin had much ado to prevail on him not to make away with himself, and to consent to the truce; for such was the hero's strength of body, such his valour of soul, such his faith in Christ, that he could with difficulty be induced, destitute though he was of troops, not to risk an engagement with his single body against a thousand picked heathen. Not being permitted, however, to break forth in this way, he chose this escape: that after a truce of seven weeks, it should depend on his will, without any infraction of the treaty, whether it were better to fight or to remain quiescent. The parties to the peace plight their troth to preserve faithfully this last compact; and Saffatin, more honoured than loaded with the royal munificence, goes back to his brother, to inform him of the abandonment of the previous stipulations, intending to return at the end of the term.

§ 97. Richard, king of England, held a council at Acre; and there providing for the state of his kingdom, appointed Henry, earl of Champaigne, his nephew, to whom he had before given Tyre, duke and lord of the whole land of promise. Hereby he resolved that the royal consecration should be deferred till the ceremony, as might yet haply be, could take place at Jerusalem. King Richard deliberating about returning home, after having, by the good offices of duke Henry, distributed guards amongst all the defensible fortifications which he had acquired in his territory, considered that Ascalon alone, from the poverty of the people, would be without a defender and inhabitant. Taking precautions, therefore, to prevent it becoming again a receptacle for the heathen, he ordered the fortifications and bulwarks of the castle to be thrown down. The seventh day of the seventh week had come, when, behold! Saffatin, accompanied with a great number of the nobles, who longed to see the face of the hero, came to the king; and the truce is confirmed by the oath of the parties, with this addition to the previous arrangement, that, during the truce, no Christian or heathen should inhabit Ascalon; but, nevertheless, that the whole cultivation of the fields belonging to the city should be left to the faithful. Hubert, bishop of Salisbury, and Henry, duke of Judæa, went up with a large band to Jerusalem to worship in the place, where the feet of Christ had stood. And there it was a wretched

sight, to see professors of the christian name in captivity dragging out a hard and prolonged martyrdom ; to see them chained together in companies, with ulcered feet, shoulders bared to the bone, bullocks goaded, flayed backs, bearing materials for the hands of stonemasons and plasterers to make Jerusalem impregnable to the Christians. Returning from the holy places, the duke and bishop tried to persuade the king himself also to go up ; but the worthy indignation of his noble heart refused to consent to obtain by the favour of the heathen what he could not obtain by the gift of God.

THE HISTORY OF THE ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY, BY GERVASE, MONK OF CANTERBURY.

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Here begins the Prologue to the History of the Archbishops of the Church of Canterbury.

Having already given a brief record (but to me a laborious one) of the names of the kings of Britain and England, with a short history of their exploits, searching after truth in the midst of uncertainty, it now devolves upon me, according to my promise, to turn my pen to the events connected with the proceedings of the archbishops of Canterbury. And since my intention is to do this with all conciseness and expedition, I am constrained to entreat the reader not to despise my style on account of its unpolished garb or succinct compression. But, should he desire further details, I have to refer him to those great volumes, of which the church of Canterbury possesses several, which treat of the lives, passions, and miracles of these fathers aforesaid; and there he will find his wishes abundantly satisfied. My intention is this: to recount the names of the kings of England and the archbishops of Canterbury, to specify the gifts or charters which each bestowed upon that church, just as I have oftentimes read them in the evidences; for which I trust I shall obtain from posterity their approval, if not for lore and eloquence, at least for industry. Some of these were conferred upon the archbishops themselves, others specially upon the convent, whilst a third class were granted to both; that is to say, to the church of Canterbury, as will hereafter appear. By God's permission I begin with Augustine, the apostle of the Angles, who was the standard-bearer for the other archbishops; and I thence proceed with his forty-two successors, ending with the venerable Herbert.[1]

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Tatwyn, a priest of a monastery in the province of the Mercians, named Briudun, was elected, and consecrated at Canterbury, by Daniel, bishop of Winchester, Inguald, bishop of London, Aldwin, bishop of Lichfield, and Aldulf, bishop of Rochester, on the tenth of June [A.D. 731]. He was a man of remarkable religion and prudence, and well instructed in the sacred writings. He received the pall which was sent by pope Gregory; and having ruled the church of Canterbury for three years, he at length departed from the world on the third of the kalends of August [30th July, A.D. 734].

[1] The lives of the archbishops following—Augustine, Laurence, Mellitus, Justus, Honorius, Deusdedit, Theodore, and Brightwald—consisting of nothing more than extracts from Beda, are here omitted.

He was succeeded in the office of the archbishopric by NOTHELM, a presbyter of London, because he was a monk. He received the pall from pope Gregory; and having governed the church of Canterbury for five years, he died on the sixteenth of the kalends of November [17th Oct. A.D. 741], and was buried with his predecessors.

He was succeeded by archbishop CUTHBERT, of venerable memory, who was bishop of Hereford. Going to Rome, he received the pall and the plenitude of the power from pope Gregory, together with permission for all future archbishops of Canterbury to be buried within the church of Canterbury, and for the construction of a cemetery within the walls of that city. For, from the earliest period until his death, the kings of Kent, and the archbishops and monks of Christ Church, as well as the inhabitants of the city, had been usually buried in the precincts of the church of the apostles Peter and Paul; for the first Roman missionaries who had arrived in England declared that the city was intended as a residence for the living, and not for the dead. However, by the will of God, and the instrumentality of the blessed Cuthbert, and by the authority of pope Gregory and the assent of king Eadbrith, it was decided that all the archbishops of Canterbury should be buried in their church of Canterbury; that is to say, that on their death they should rest in that building which they had honourably governed during their life. Cuthbert, happily, held the archbishopric many years afterwards, and caused many councils to be celebrated for the benefit of the church; amongst the other decrees of which, it was decided that the festivals of St. Gregory the pope, and of St. Augustine the apostle of the English, should be honourably kept in England. He also built a church near Christ Church, which he consecrated in honour of St. John the Baptist; where he and all his successors were honourably buried. As he drew near the end of his life (when he had ruled the church of Canterbury for sixteen years), he gave directions that no one should be informed of either his sickness or death, and that the bell should not be tolled for him until the time when his corpse should be laid in the grave. So, having died on the seventh of the kalends of November [26th Oct. A.D. 758], he was buried as he had commanded. When the bells were tolled for him, and the intelligence of his death was circulated, Iambert, the abbot of St. Augustine's, and his companions, arrived with haste, with the intention of removing with them the corpse of the archbishop, according to the early custom; but finding that he was already buried, and being informed that this ancient usage had been changed by the apostolical and royal authority, he returned home exceedingly disconcerted.

BREGWIN succeeded Cuthbert, and was consecrated on Michaelmas-day [29th Sept. A.D. 759]. He received the pall and the plenitude of the power from pope Paul, and sat three years. He entirely approved of the change which had been made by his predecessor as to the place of the burial of the archbishops, and he caused the same to be confirmed by the authority as well of the pope as the king; adding thereto his own individual approval. He departed this life on

the eighth[1] of the kalends of September [25th Aug. A.D. 762], and the inmates of Christ Church caused him to be buried in the church of St. John the Baptist (which we have already mentioned), in which his predecessor, the blessed Cuthbert, already had been deposited.

IAMBERT, the abbot of the church of St. Augustine, succeeded St. Bregwin, and was consecrated archbishop on the day of the purification of St. Mary [2d Feb. A.D. 763]. He received the pall from the blessed pope Paul, and ruled the church of Canterbury for twenty-seven years, with much labour and cost; for Offa, king of the Mercians, having become hostile to the men of Kent, attempted to plunder archbishop Iambert of his primacy; and having sent letters to pope Adrian, did his best to procure the pall (though against primitive usage) for the bishop of Lichfield. Moreover, Iambert lost no small portion of his diocese in that quarrelsome synod which was held at Chealchite. After having occupied the church of Canterbury for twenty-seven years, as has been mentioned, and perceiving that his end drew near, he attempted to alter the statutes of his two predecessors; and commanded that, whilst he was still alive, he should be conveyed to the church of St. Augustine's, in which it was his wish that he should be buried when dead.[2] And so it came to pass.

But because Christ would not permit His church to be despoiled of her honour, in the place of the deceased He substituted archbishop ATHELARD, a man of the highest sanctity and wisdom, who, having been formerly abbot, was at that time bishop of Winchester. Having been elected after Iambert, his ordination was celebrated on the twelfth of the kalends of August [21st July, A.D. 793]. He went to Rome, and received the pall and the honour of a metropolitan from pope Adrian. Upon the death of Offa, and while his son Kenulf was on the throne (who also assented to the arrangement), the archbishop restored the archiepiscopal dignity to Canterbury, and fully obtained back for it its primitive honours. This was done by the authority of pope St. Leo, whom the Romans had taken prisoner, and blinded in the Greater Litany,[3] and whose tongue they cut out by the roots. This Athelard was in every respect worthy of a comparison with the popes after the apostolic age; and in his epistle to the king Kenulf already mentioned, pope St. Leo styles him[4] a man most holy, most worthy, most dear, and most learned. Not only is Kent indebted to him for an exceeding great benefit in this particular, namely, that by his own labours, and at his own costs, he restored to her her primitive dignity, but also the whole of England, for he would not suffer her to bow her neck to a degenerate see. He consecrated bishops, and celebrated councils at befitting places. One of these he held at Clovesho, in the presence of king Cenewulf; in which, by the assent of that prince,

[1] The date usually assigned for his decease is a day later; see Hardy's Le Neve, i. 4.

[2] He died on the 12th of August, A.D. 790.

[3] The Greater Litany means the Litany sung on St. Mark's-day, the 25th of April.

[4] See Malmesbury's History of the Kings, § 89; Church Hist. iii. 72.

he recovered the dignities and possessions of which Offa, the king of the Mercians, had deprived Iambert. This blessed archbishop, Athelard, after having occupied his see for thirteen years, died[1] peaceably, and was buried in the church of St. John the Baptist.

He was succeeded by WILFRED, a very wise man, who was consecrated by the holy pope Leo, from whom he received the pall and the fulness of the metropolitan power. On his return home, he acted energetically in many respects, and obtained for the church many possessions from the kings of Kent. By the consent of the convent, he exchanged several of the lands which had been apportioned to himself for Burne, and other landed property, which had been assigned to the convent, together with the liberties and right of sale which these lands had formerly enjoyed. Hence it appears probable that even at that time the convent of Canterbury had the free power of disposing of its property. In all his transactions, this Wilfred had especial regard to the advantage and peace of the church of Canterbury over which he presided. He granted certain lands to his nephew Werehard the priest, to be held by him during his life; and these he restored to the convent after the death of archbishop Wilfred, when he himself was drawing near his own latter end. Of these matters we shall speak more fully when we come to mention the gifts of kings and bishops. This Wilfred, after having sat thirty-eight years, died[2] in peace, and was buried in Christ Church.

FEOLOGILD, the abbot, upon the death of Wilfred, was elected to the archbishopric on the seventh of the kalends of May [25th April, A.D. 829], and was ordained on the fifth of the ides of June [9th June]. He died upon the kalends of September [1st Sept. A.D. 829].

CEOLNOTH, the dean of the church of Canterbury, was next elected on the third of the kalends of June [30th May, A.D. 830]; and having been consecrated, on the sixth of the kalends of September [29th Aug.] in the same year, he received the pall from pope Gregory. A great mortality presently occurred in the church of Canterbury among the monks; all of whom died excepting five. This occasioned much grief and anxiety to the archbishop, who scarce knew what was best to be done in such an extremity; for now he saw only five monks where, when he was dean (an office which we call prior), there used to be a large convent; nor could any be found who would consent to become monks in this period of danger. Besides, at this juncture a great and novel danger had befallen Kent; for the Danish pirates, who were heathens, had arrived in the province, and had plundered it and murdered the inhabitants, first at the island of Sheppey, then at Thanet; one while at the city of Rochester, at another at that of Canterbury and its suburbs, and sometimes at Winchester and the surrounding districts. If at any time they were driven out or slain by the kings of England, they returned here in greater numbers than before; so that they who had arrived at first with three ships only, now appeared with three hundred and fifty. Sometimes the people of

[1] He died A.D. 803; Hardy's Le Neve, ii. 4.

[2] A.D. 829.

Kent paid them money, and entered into a firm and binding treaty with them; but as soon as the money which the Kentish men had promised was paid down, they devastated the whole of Kent. At this period St. Edmund received the crown of an illustrious martyrdom, as may be read in his glorious passion. Hemmed in with these difficulties, archbishop Ceolnoth gave commands to his priests and clerks (with the consent, however, of the monks, and at their request), that they should render the monks devout assistance in God's service, until more monks could be created on the restoration of peace. So, in the midst of much trouble, Ceolnoth sat for forty-one years; and having died [A.D. 870], he was buried in Christ Church.

By the consent of king Ethelred and his brother Alured, ATHELARD, bishop of Winchester, succeeded to the see of Canterbury, because he had formerly been a monk of that church. Having arrived at Canterbury, and received the pall and the honour of a metropolitan, he was confirmed in his throne by pope Adrian. He was astonished to discover that the clerks sang [service] among the monks, and he resolved to expel them forthwith; but when he had been made acquainted with the truth, he also waited until the arrival of a time of peace and tranquillity. The pagans wandered over the whole of England, sparing neither order, nor sex, nor age; they destroyed the churches, dug down the altars, drove away the monks and nuns; everything was given up to plunder and the flames, cities and towns were destroyed, and with difficulty did any of the monasteries escape, even when emptied of their inmates. Thus it came to pass, as well in the church of Canterbury as in others, that the clerks did not receive the office of monks, nor worthily support it if they did. However, a few of the monks of the church of Canterbury always preserved the superiority therein. In the mean time died archbishop Athelard, after having sat for eighteen years; and he was buried in the year eight hundred and ninety-three.[1] The church was then vacant for two years.

He was succeeded by archbishop PLEGMUND of happy memory, a man very religious, and well instructed in sacred literature. He had spent many years of his life as a hermit in the island of Chester, which is called by the inhabitants Plegmundisham. Having gone to Rome, he was consecrated by pope Formosus, and received the pall and the plenitude of the metropolitan power. On his return into England, by the command of the aforesaid pope, and with the consent of king Edward, he appointed seven bishops to as many churches, which at that time were vacant in England; and he consecrated seven bishops in one day in the church of Canterbury. This St. Plegmund held councils at the fitting times and places, and consecrated bishops; he is also reputed to have crowned king Edward at Kingestun. Archbishop Plegmund went to Rome, and bought the [body of the] blessed martyr Blase, at the price of much gold and silver; and on his return, he conveyed him to Canterbury, and placed him in Christ Church. Having filled the chair of Canterbury for thirty-four years, he died [A.D. 923] in a good

[1] This date is doubtful; see Le Neve, i. 5.

old age, and was buried in Christ Church. He was succeeded in the archbishopric of Canterbury by archbishop Athelm.

ATHELM, bishop of Wells, received the pall and the plenitude of the power from pope John. He anointed and crowned king Athelstan (who became monarch of the whole of England), in the royal vill which the inhabitants call Kingestun. He died a few years afterwards.[1]

WULFHELM, bishop of Wells, was his successor, who received the pall from pope John. Among the other bishops whom he consecrated was St. Odo, whom he appointed to the government of the church of Sherburn. After having sat for thirteen years, Wulfhelm died [A.D. 941], and was buried.

ODO, a man of venerable religion, and bishop of Sherburn, was elected. At this time he was wearing the habit of a clerk; and he resolutely determined that the usage of those persons who had preceded him in the same see should continue undisturbed, even in appearance, by his ambition; for up to this time the church of Canterbury had seen no archbishop who was not habited in the dress of a monk. At this time it was considered neither honourable nor reasonable that a secular clerk should preside over regular monks, since from the time of St. Augustine, and by the command of St. Gregory, this church of Canterbury had always belonged to the monks. Being unable, however, by any arguments of his to mollify the decision of the king and the realm, the clergy, and the people, he at length sent messengers to Floriacum [Fleury], where at that time the monastic religion enjoyed the highest reputation; the abbot of which, consequently, came into England, and from his hand he received the monastic character and dress; and so, to the joy of all, he became archbishop of Canterbury, and obtained the pall from pope Agapitus. Amongst the other bishops whom he consecrated he, in the church of Canterbury, consecrated St. Dunstan to the government of the church of Worcester. He also crowned Eadred king, in the royal town called Kingestun; and some years afterwards, in the same town, Edwin was crowned by him. This latter giving too much licence to his lusts, in consequence thereof expelled the blessed abbot Dunstan from England; whereupon the blessed Odo sent soldiers, who violently dragged from the king's court the woman of fornication, and having seared her face with a hot iron, he banished her. When the scar was healed, she returned into England; whereupon the same archbishop took her the second time, and hamstrung her. During the solemnities of the mass, this Odo, by his devout prayers, caused blood to flow from the eucharist which he was holding in his hand, that even by such means as this he might recal to the true faith the unbelievers who were standing near him. When he was visiting the church of York, as primate, he commanded that the bones of St. Wilfred should be removed to Canterbury from the church of Ripon (which had formerly been burnt down), and there be buried with the greatest honour. Many are the mighty deeds of this holy man, which cannot be summed up in this abstract, but

[1] He died about A.D. 928; but the precise date is uncertain.

which are recounted at length elsewhere. We have not yet been able to ascertain how long he and his two predecessors filled the see. We read, however, in his Life,[1] that he ruled the church of Canterbury for a considerable period; that he repaired its roof, which had become rotten through extreme age; and that, in the mean time, he had prevented the rain from falling for three years. He was a man of a good intellect, of praiseworthy virtue, and powerful in the spirit of prophecy. Departing from this world, he was conducted to the eternal glory of paradise; and but for the succession of Dunstan, his death would have been lamented by the whole of England. He died[2] in the presence of all the sons of the church; to whom also he promised, as they were weeping (and no wonder), that the Lord would provide them a good pastor after his decease. He was succeeded by Elfsin, who was not elected canonically, but by the king's command, whose hands he had filled.

Elfsin, bishop of Winchester (surnamed Lippe), succeeded, and was received at Canterbury. He smote the tomb of St. Odo with the staff which he held in his hand, remarking that he was dead, and that now another was holding the archbishopric; but going to Rome, as is usual, for the pall, as he was climbing the Alps he was attacked by a severe disease, and there died,[3] and was buried.

In his stead, Brithelm, bishop of the men of Dorset, was sent to Canterbury; but after a few days he returned to his church by the king's command, being unfit for such a position.

Dunstan, bishop of Winchester, was then elected[4], to the joy of all. His father was called Herstan, and his mother's name was Kinedritha. When Dunstan was a youth, Gloucester (at that time devoted to the royal revenue) was entirely ignorant of religion, on account of the frequent wars. For, with the exception of the church of Canterbury, the system of living together was nowhere observed in England; men were not yet inclined to abandon self-gratification; the name of abbot was scarce known anywhere; and it was not easy to discover a convent of monks. If any one was inclined to lead a pilgrim's life, he must then have done it either in solitude in a cell, or, associating himself with a few individuals influenced by the same intentions, he must leave his own country and live in a foreign land, wherever the opportunity was afforded him. From his earliest youth Dunstan was obedient to his parents, and did his best to surpass all in duty, in favour, in affability; to observe modesty, to shun indecency, to covet things honest, to abominate everything base, to frequent the company and the conversation of his elders, to avoid childish games, to abstain from food, to be sparing of sleep, to be sedate in his walk, and neither to be quick in his movements from place to place, nor abrupt in his conversation. He always made God the principle of his actions, and to Him he also recommended their end. He was naturally of such a quick intellect, that it was to him no effort to understand any matter, and to remember it accu-

[1] See the Life of Odo, by Osbern, in Wharton's Angl. Sacr. ii. 83.
[2] A.D. 958 or 961. [3] The date is uncertain. [4] Apparently in A.D. 959.

rately; and although he was well skilled in other arts, yet he was especially devoted to that kind of music which is produced by instruments. Like David, he took the psaltery, he struck the harp, he played upon the organ, and smote the cymbals. He had a hand skilled in every craft; he could paint, he could draw letters, he could engrave with an etching tool upon gold, silver, brass, or iron, and work anything in these metals. He made bells and cymbals. He was nephew to Athelm, archbishop of Canterbury (being his brother's son), who recommended him to king Adelstan, in whose palace he spent some time; and so did he profit in worldly wisdom, and in the adjudication of secular causes, that he wholly pleased God, and gave no offence to any one who led a godly life. But, as it always happens that good men by their good deeds purchase to themselves envy, and as the wicked cannot attain unto virtue, so he hates him who attempts to mount upwards. Although Dunstan was falsely accused by many of the nobles of the realm, and was expelled from the court, yet he was recalled by God's providence, and shortly afterwards he received from the king the royal mansion of Glastonbury. There he erected such offices as were necessary, and joined to himself some brethren, over whom he became the first abbot; but from this place he was expelled by king Edwin, out of revenge for his concubine, whom St. Odo had mutilated. However, when the king ended his disgraced life, his brother Edgar, having been elected king of the English, recalled Dunstan from his banishment, and with the assent and consent of Odo, archbishop of Canterbury, he placed him over the church of Worcester. Afterwards, when the church of London happened to be vacant, the blessed Odo wished to entrust it to his care; but as he at that time departed to his glory, Dunstan (as we have already mentioned) was elected by the clergy and people, and by the cordial approval of the king, to the great joy of all. I entreat the reader not to think it irksome that I have repeated this history of St. Dunstan.

He went to the city of Rome, where pope John invested him with the sacred robes, and with the honour of the primacy, and sent him back to the English nation like a pillar of light. He was honourably received in the church of Canterbury, as the Lord's messenger, and was enthroned in the patriarchal see; and upon that same day, as he was assisting at the holy altars, the Holy Spirit appeared above him in the form of a dove, and on the completion of the sacrifice the same Spirit rested upon the tomb of St. Odo. Hence it was that whenever Dunstan passed by that spot he used to say in his mother tongue, "Her lith Odo the gode," which means, "Here lieth Odo the good."

Dunstan being thus appointed patriarch over the whole English nation, and the other nations which are situated behind them, hastened to visit all the cities of each district, that he might instruct in good works, by the apostolic tradition, those who were of the household of the faith. The dignity of the primacy was herein aided by the royal authority, of which he was the first and the chief councillor. Throughout the whole of England he curbed

the vices of every offender, of what dignity or fortune soever he might be; he aided their virtues; he restored the ruined churches and monasteries, and he expelled the clerks who had taken possession of them; he assembled bodies of monks and nuns, of whom he appointed more than forty monasteries in fitting localities; he sought out pastors, and consecrated Oswald to the church of Worcester, Ethelwold as abbot of Winchester, out of which church he also expelled the clerks, and introduced monks. This Oswald, by the influence of Dunstan, was translated to the archiepiscopal see of York some years afterwards. Dunstan also consecrated and crowned king Edgar in the city of the Acamanni, which is now called Bath, in the presence of Oswald, archbishop of York, and the bishops of England. After the death of king Edgar, he also consecrated and crowned Edward as king, although this was opposed by many of the English nobility; but Oswald sanctioned it. When Edward was murdered by the treachery of his stepmother, Dunstan consecrated and crowned Egelred the Atheling to be king, at Kingestun, with the approval of Oswald, archbishop of York, and the bishops of England; and at Canterbury he also consecrated abbot Elfeg as bishop of Winchester. A great dispute occurred at his election; for the clerks who were ejected from the churches wished to elect a clerk, and the monks who were introduced equally desired that a monk should be elected; whereupon the apostle Andrew appeared to his friend Dunstan, and admonished him to elect and consecrate abbot Elfeg. And once more, when the clerks planned the expulsion of the monks, and had assembled a council at Winchester, Dunstan, that champion of the monks, gained the victory over his antagonists; whilst the figure of the Lord's Body, which was affixed to the cross, exclaimed, "May God forbid it! may God forbid it!" Then the monastic order, which had so long been oppressed in the time of the wars, raised its head and flourished; for under Dunstan, that prince and protector of the monks, the lights of the saints shone in England just as the stars shine in the heavens. He gave a great impetus to the liberal arts throughout the entire island, second herein only to king Alfred. He munificently repaired the royal residences. Terrible towards offenders, he was liberal and gentle towards the poor. Even in trifles he was a lover of peace; so much so, that he caused pegs of gold or silver to be introduced into drinking cups, so that no one while drinking might give cause of offence by exceeding his due share of liquor. The clerks who had formerly been expelled from the churches waged a constant warfare with the monks and St. Dunstan, who was now worn out by old age. But when they had collected a meeting at Calne, and were raving against Dunstan, that most firm bulwark of the church, the upper room in which they were assembled gave way; and while many perished, Dunstan alone escaped unhurt, by standing firm on one of the beams. When king Edward had been slain by his stepmother's hatred, Ethelred was elevated to the throne, and was crowned at Kingestune by the blessed Dunstan, in the presence of Wolstan, archbishop of York, and the bishops of England. St.

Dunstan prophesied that the sword should not depart from his house, because he had aspired to the kingdom through his brother's death. Afterwards, when the same king was ravaging Kent, on account of some disputes which had arisen, and was laying siege to the city of Rochester, the blessed archbishop Dunstan sent him a message desiring him to cease from his folly; to which the king paid no attention. But upon the receipt of one hundred pounds of silver, which were sent by Dunstan, he raised the siege. Exceedingly surprised hereat, the saint wrote to him thus: "Since you have preferred money to God, silver to the apostle, your own lust of gain to my request, there shall come upon you evils unknown to England since it became a nation, even to the present day."

This most holy and God-beloved Dunstan, who was filled with every gift of the Spirit, and worn out with the desire of seeing God, left the transitory light of this present world, and departed to eternal rest, twelve years before the one thousandth from our Lord's incarnation [19th May, A.D. 988], five hundred and sixty-three from the period of the arrival of the Angles in Britain, about the seventieth of his age, and in the thirty-third of his archbishopric.

ATHELGAR, bishop of Selsey, succeeded as archbishop, and received the pall from pope John. Having sat for one year and three months, he died, and was buried in Christ Church. He was succeeded in the primacy of the church of Canterbury by Siric of venerable memory.

SIRIC, late bishop of Wilton, received the pall from pope John. Shortly afterwards, he chanced to observe that there were among the monks a few clerks who performed some menial offices and rang the bells, and he commanded that they should be entirely removed and appear no longer among the monks; for he thought it unbecoming that clerks should associate with monks. By his advice, the English gave the Danes a tribute of ten thousand pounds. Soon after this there arrived in England Anlaf, king of the Norsemen, and Suane, king of the Danes, with ninety-four ships of three rows of oars; and they obtained a tribute of sixteen thousand pounds. In the mean time died archbishop Siric [A.D. 995], in a good old age, and left many excellent books to the church of Canterbury. He sat five years, and was buried with his fathers.

ELFRIC, bishop of Sherburn, a man of remarkable holiness, was elected in his room, and received the pall from pope John. In his time the episcopal see of Lindisfarne was translated to Durham. For eleven years archbishop Elfric ruled the church of Canterbury, in the midst of the manifold irruptions of the heathen, and yet with the greatest religion; and departing heavenward [A.D. 1006], was buried in Christ Church.

To him succeeded ST. ELFEG, bishop of Winchester; he was a man of the most illustrious birth, and of remarkable prudence and deep humility. Having by repeated perusal learned what appeared to him sufficient for salvation, he turned the whole study

of his philosophy to the love of God, and became a monk at Dierherste. He studied to love God in all things and through all things, carefully to discharge the duties with which he was entrusted, and to sacrifice his own interest to the advantage of his neighbour. He did good to all, and those whom he could not aid he took pains not to injure. A few years afterwards, he came to Bath, where he built a little dwelling-place, in which he began to lead a life of solitude, and chid those persons who did not change their mode of living, and abandon their secular habit. Many now flocked to him, and a considerable crowd of monks assembled there. At this time Athelwold, bishop of Winchester, having departed this life, Dunstan (who had received a revelation from St. Andrew the apostle) elected abbot Elfeg, and consecrated him in the church of Canterbury; after which, to the joy of all, he was enthroned in the church of Winchester. He feared God, and diligently observed His laws; and advancing day by day in His love, he embraced poverty for himself, but fed the poor of Christ, so that he permitted no one in his diocese to become a public beggar; nor did he allow any poor man, who came from a distance, to depart from him empty-handed; for he thought it a great crime to permit one single individual to engross to himself what nature had intended for the common good. Upon the death of the venerable Elfric, archbishop of Canterbury, the name of Elfeg (as we have mentioned already) was in the mouths of all: Elfeg was elected; Elfeg was extolled.

About the year of our Lord's incarnation one thousand and six, when he was in about the fifty-third year of his age, and filled with the fulness of grace, he went to Rome, where he was wonderfully honoured by pope John, and received the pall of the patriarchate; returning with which into England, he was joyfully welcomed by his sons at Canterbury. From that time he frequently celebrated councils at fitting periods; he explained the orthodox faith to the fathers; by his advice and his gentleness he recalled back to God sinners of what rank soever, without acceptance of persons; and, for the benefit of all, he performed mass twice in the day. He overflowed with clemency, and was frequently dissolved in tears; he was a most affectionate friend of the poor, a speedy reliever of the oppressed; he was most willing to give, but most unwilling to receive; he was the firm hope of all who fled to him, and the sure refuge of the afflicted. In the chief festivals, when it became his duty to discharge the episcopal functions for the benefit of the people, whilst the hymns were being solemnly sung, he was performing private mass, all the more devoutly because of his privacy. Returning from thence to the altar, filled with the Spirit, he finished the office which he had already begun. He used to spend the day clothed in a white robe, over which his pall was worn, and with his mitre on his head, thereby to impress with greater reverence those who saw him, in proportion to the dignity of his appearance. He beautified his church with many excellent works. He was so devoted in the observance of the decencies of life, that no one dared to utter an unseemly word in his hearing;

for this is the first token of chastity, that no one should venture to speak a foul word, which is a sure indication of a foul heart; for out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh.

At this time some pirates (a most wicked race of robbers), under their valiant generals, Suane and Turkill, the chiefs of the Danes, inflicted some disgrace upon the English soil. For although frequent and large contributions were sent to them out of England, and a tribute such as they demanded was paid them, yet they did not cease from wandering in troops throughout the provinces; and devastating the towns wherever they came, they plundered the property of all, and slew many of the inhabitants. At length, they blockaded and besieged Canterbury, between the nativity of St. Mary [8th Sept.] and the feast of St. Michael [29th Sept.]. On the twentieth day of the siege, part of the city was burnt down by the treachery of the archdeacon Elmar (whom St. Elfeg had previously rescued from death), whereupon the army rushed in, and the city was taken. Some of the inhabitants were put to the sword —some perished in the flames—more were hurled headlong from the walls—some died after having been hung up by the privy members. The women were dragged by their hair through the streets of the city, and were then thrown into the flames, where they died. Little children were snatched from their mothers' breasts, and caught on the points of spears, or crushed to pieces by wagons which were driven over them. Archbishop Elfeg was taken prisoner, bound, imprisoned, and tortured in various ways. Elmar, the abbot of St. Augustine's, was permitted to depart. Godwin, bishop of Rochester; Leofruna, abbess of the monastery of St. Mildritha; Elfred, the king's provost; and an innumerable crowd of monks, clerks, and laity of both sexes, were taken prisoners. Christ Church, after having been plundered, was consumed; and the whole body of the monks, and not only the men but the women also, the old men and the young children, were decimated; that is to say, nine were put to death, and the tenth was preserved alive. The amount of those thus decimated was four monks and eight hundred men.

After the people had thus been slaughtered, and the city pillaged and totally consumed, archbishop Elfeg was led out in chains, knocked about, severely wounded, taken to the fleet, and once more thrust into prison, where he was tormented for seven months. God's anger now raged against this bloody nation, two thousand of whom died from severe internal diseases. The others, who were attacked in like manner, were admonished by the faithful to make satisfaction to the archbishop; but they delayed so to do. In the mean time the plague increased, and carried them off, sometimes by tens, sometimes by twenties, sometimes by more. The traitor Edric (by whose perfidy the Danes were thus cruelly devastating England), and all the English nobles, as well ecclesiastical as civil, assembled at London before Easter, and there they continued until they could pay the Danes the tribute which they had promised; namely, forty-eight thousand pounds. On the holy sabbath of the Lord's resurrection, the Danes made this proposal to archbishop

Elfeg; namely, that if he desired to obtain life and liberty, he should pay three thousand pounds. When he refused to do this, they postponed his murder until the Saturday following; on the arrival of which, they became bitterly enraged against him, partly because they were drunken with wine, and partly because Elfeg had forbidden that any one should pay them the price fixed for his ransom; and thereupon he was taken out of prison, and dragged before their council. Leaping forthwith from their seats, they knocked him down with the blunt side of their axes, and cast at him stones, bones, and the heads of oxen. At length, a man named Thrum (whom he had confirmed on the previous day), moved with a cruel sort of kindness, dashed his hatchet into the archbishop's head; and immediately he fell asleep in the Lord, and his conquering spirit departed in triumph to heaven, on the thirteenth of the kalends of May [19th April, A.D. 1012]. On the following day his corpse was conveyed to London, and there honourably received by the citizens, and buried in the church of St. Paul, by Eadnoth, bishop of Lincoln, and Alphun, of London. The blessed Elfeg sat in the see of the church of Canterbury for six years and seven months. He was succeeded in the archbishopric of the church of Canterbury by Living, of good memory.

Living was bishop of Wells, and he received the pall from pope Benedict. After having energetically ruled the church of Canterbury for seven years, and provided it with most beautiful ornaments, he went to a happy rest [A.D. 1020], and was buried. Egelnoth was his successor in the archbishopric.

Egelnoth was dean of the same church of Canterbury, for at that time the monks of Canterbury were what we may style cathedral-canons; they wore the monastic dress, but did not fully observe the monastic rule. The clerks who had been admitted after the martyrdom of St. Elfeg (with whom nearly the whole convent perished by the swords of the Danes, four monks only escaping), could not be so thoroughly instructed, nor so entirely weaned from following their own inclinations, as to observe the rule in all respects. The provost was by them named dean; since the arrival of Lanfrank, we style this officer the prior. In former days the archbishop of Canterbury had a suffragan bishop, who resided in the church of St. Martin, without the walls of the city; the office became extinct when Lanfrank succeeded to the see, as we are informed it did everywhere. On account of his innate excellency, Egelnoth was surnamed "the Good." After his election he went to Rome, and was honourably received by pope Benedict; and after he had been honoured with the pall and the primacy, he returned to his see, the church of which he restored to its primitive dignity. For in process of time he removed thither to the seat of his patriarchate from London—at the command and by the assistance of king Cnut—the body of the holy martyr Elfeg, after it had lain for ten years in the church of St. Paul. In his days, and by his instrumentality, monks were placed in the monastery of St. Edmund. King Cnut especially esteemed this archbishop Egelnoth, and was guided by his advice, because he was a good man, and had

crowned him king. Cnut, in a short space of time, became king of England, Denmark, and Norway. Egelnoth sat for seventeen years, and died on the fourteenth of the kalends of November [29th Oct. A.D. 1038]. He was succeeded by archbishop Eadsin.

EADSIN, bishop of Winchester, was chaplain to king Harold, and received the pall from pope Alexander.[1] Upon the death of king Harold, he consecrated and crowned king Edward, at Winchester, in the presence of Alfric, archbishop of York, and the bishops of England, on Easter-day. After having admirably filled the archbishop's office for eleven years, and conferred some advantages upon that church, he died upon the fifth of the kalends of November [29th Oct. A.D. 1050], and was buried in Christ Church. His suffragan bishop, named Siward, died at Abingdon, and was there buried. Eadsin, having thus been translated to heaven, he was succeeded by Robert, at the desire of king Edward.

This ROBERT was a Norman by birth; but when he succeeded to the see of Canterbury, he was bishop of London. On his accession to the throne, Edward summoned him into England, and appointed him first to the see of London, and then that of Canterbury; and this he did because Robert—at that time a monk of Jumiéges—had been able to render the royal exile some petty kindnesses. But on the breaking out of a great feud between the Normans and the English who adhered to Edward's party, which ended in the pronouncing of a sentence of banishment against Robert and his accomplices, the Normans, as the disturbers of the government, through the agency of earl Godwin (a man of fluent eloquence and consummate craft), he appealed to the apostolic see, and went to Rome. But when he had reached Jumiéges, on his return, he fell sick, and died [A.D. 1052]. He sat for two years.

Whilst Robert was yet alive, STIGAND, king Edward's chaplain, as he had already abandoned the see of the South Saxons, and invaded that of Winchester, so now he did not hesitate to attack that of Canterbury, of which he obtained possession; for he seized the pall of Robert, who was still living. At the same time he retained in his hands the church of Winchester; for he was a man of a great mind and of boundless presumption. He also ruled the monastery of St. Augustine, upon which he conferred some benefits. He received the pall from a certain schismatical pope named Benedict. This was the first man who presumed, in the dress of a clerk, to invade the archbishopric of Canterbury. At this time Herfast translated the see from Helmeham to Thetford. When Benedict had been expelled from the papacy, Stigand was suspended from his office by pope Alexander; and a council was held at Winchester, under king William, after the death of the holy king Edward, at which (by the consent of pope Alexander, and king William, who had conquered England) Stigand was deposed by two cardinals, who had been sent as legates into England; and having been cast into prison, he there died [A.D. 1070], and so paid the dire penalty of his ungoverned presumption. Upon his death there was discovered a little key which he had hidden, and

[1] An error, for which we ought to read, Benedict.

this opened the lock of a chest in his bedchamber; by which means were brought to view the countless treasures which he had heaped up. Memoranda were also found which recorded the value and weights of the various precious metals which had been buried in his different estates. Stigand continued to sit, in some such manner as this, for eighteen years; and having died in the king's prison at Winchester, he was buried in the church of St. Swithen. After his death, the church of Canterbury was vacant for two years.

LAMFRANC, abbot of Caen, was elected. The reader is invited to listen to the history of this individual. He was a Lombard by birth, and born of a respectable family in the city of Pavia; his father's name was Hanbald, and his mother's Roza. Having been sent to school, he speedily became instructed in every kind of learning. He then turned with his whole soul to the Lord, and, abandoning all else, followed Him alone. Leaving his native country, he crossed the Alps, and thus passing through France, reached Normandy, where, having associated with himself some few clerks, he opened a school. When he was on his way to Rouen, he chanced to fall among thieves, as he was passing through a large forest; they first plundered him of all his property, and then, having tied his hands behind his back and dragged the hood of his cloak over his eyes, they took him into the thickest and most remote part of the forest, and there left him alone in the twilight of the evening. In this his extremity he vowed a vow, that if the Lord would deliver him from this danger, he would forthwith embrace the strictest order of monachism. In the morning he was discovered by some travellers, who loosed him from his bonds; and then he hastened to Bec, where abbot Herlewin was erecting some little dwellings for monks upon his own patrimony; and at the very time when Lamfranc arrived, he was attending the oven with his own hands. Having there received the tonsure, Lamfranc tarried in that place for three years as a solitary monk, where, unknown to all, but intent upon every virtue, he heaped up to himself a store of good works. Desiring to lead a solitary life, as more profitable to himself, he had determined to withdraw himself thence in secret-wise; but his plans having been wonderfully detected by God's will, he remained there, and, though unwilling, became the prior. Some business which occurred took him to Rome, where, in the presence of pope Nicolas, he exposed the fallacies of the heretical answers of Berengarius, and successfully accomplished the wishes of William, duke of Normandy. The duke having founded a monastery at Caen, appointed Lamfranc to be its abbot. Afterwards, when he had obtained the realm of England by his arms, he called Lamfranc over thither, by the approval of pope Alexander. Thus Lamfranc the Lombard, being at that time abbot of Caen, came into England, at the invitation of king William the first, and by the command of pope Alexander.

He was a man of great learning, well skilled in all the liberal arts, and in divine and secular literature, and equally prudent in the management of the affairs of this world. Shortly afterwards he undertook the rule of the church of Canterbury, having been

elected in the king's court, on the assumption of St. Mary, [12th Aug.] by the elders of that church, with the bishops and chief men, and the clergy and people of England. On his arrival at Canterbury, he was received with due honour by both convents; that, namely, of Christ Church and that of St. Augustine. He was consecrated by William, bishop of London, on the fourth of the kalends of September [29th Aug. A.D. 1070], in the presence and with the assistance of these bishops of England; that is to say, of Walkeline of Winchester, Remigius of Lincoln, Siward of Rochester, Herfast of Helmham, Stigand of Selsey, Hermann of Shirburn, and Giso of Wells. The other bishops who could not attend explained the cause of their absence by letters and messengers.

In the same year Thomas, the archbishop elect of York, came to Canterbury to be consecrated; but when Lamfranc demanded from him the usual profession, he could not by any reasoning or any proof be induced to render it, but, despising all, he departed unconsecrated. Incensed hereat, the king, thinking that Lamfranc had demanded more than his due, summoned both of them to his presence, as well as the bishops of England; where each side having produced their arguments, it was at last decided that Thomas should return to Canterbury, and on his consecration should make due profession to the church of Canterbury, and to Lamfranc. Thomas then came to Canterbury, made his profession, and returned consecrated. Having gone to Rome, Lamfranc was received with the greatest honour by the lord pope Alexander, who rose to meet him on his approach, and gave him two palls; one as belonging of right to the church of Canterbury, the other as a token of his especial friendship. But when Thomas, archbishop of York (who had come thither along with Lamfranc), sought to move the question as well concerning the primacy—although Lamfranc had consecrated him in the church of Canterbury—as also concerning the subjection of three sees,[1] the pope, having heard the arguments of either side, postponed the cause until the question could be determined in England, where the events occurred. So, when the two archbishops had returned home, the king summoned a large meeting of the English nobility, where each side advanced its own arguments in the hearing of all; and then Thomas, influenced by the evidence of ancient men and by the statements of history, made due and absolute profession to the church of Canterbury and Lamfranc. And yet, for the sake of peace, Lamfranc voluntarily granted permission to Thomas, that henceforth the bishop of Durham should make profession to him, and obey him as his suffragan; so that, having at least the dignity of a single bishop [under him], he might obtain the name of an archbishop. And yet we read that some archbishops ruled the church of York during the entire period of their lives without having had the pall. An authoritative writing was then drawn up by the command of the king, and the approval of the bishops, which contained the issue of the whole affair; and this was deposited in several of the cathedral churches of England,

[1] Namely, those of Lincoln, Worcester, and Lichfield, which he claimed as belonging to the province of York; see Opp. Lanfranci, i. 302.

after having been impressed with the royal seal and the subscriptions of such of the bishops and abbots as were present. Then Lamfranc asked and received their professions from all the suffragans of the church of Canterbury. He consecrated the following archbishops and bishops at various times, and received from them their due professions; namely, Thomas, archbishop of York, in the church of Canterbury; Patrick of Dublin, in the church of London; Osborn of Exeter, in that of London; Peter of Lichfield, in Gloucester; Hernost of Rochester, at Westminster. Lamfranc, in the chapter-house of Canterbury, gave this Hernost the church of Rochester aforesaid, to be governed by him. Hernost having died within the year, Lamfranc gave the same church to Gundulf, within the chapter-house of Canterbury, and consecrated him there in Christ Church. He also consecrated Robert bishop of Hereford in the same Christ Church, and Robert bishop of Chester, and William bishop of Helmham, and John bishop of Wells, and Geoffrey bishop of Chichester; but these were consecrated at various times. He blessed also the abbots of St. Augustin's, namely, Wido and Scotland, from whom he received the professions that were due. And because, for a considerable time past, the holding of councils had become obsolete, he celebrated them in various places, for the extirpation of those vices which had crept in, and for the introduction of virtue. The first of these was at Winchester, in which (for certain reasons) he deposed Wulfric, the abbot of Hide, and instituted many useful regulations. He held his second council in the church of St. Paul, in London; in which it was ruled by the elders of the land, that the archbishop of York ought to sit on the right hand of the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of London at the left, and the bishop of Winchester next to the archbishop of York. But if this latter prelate happened to be dead, then the bishop of London should sit on the right, and the bishop of Winchester on the left hand. The other bishops should sit according to the dates of their consecration. This arrangement was observed from this time henceforth. He held his third council at Winchester; his fourth at London, in which he deposed Ailnoth, the abbot of Glastonbury; the fifth at Claudia;[1] the sixth at Gloucester, in which he deposed Wulfketel, abbot of Croyland. During the time of this Lamfranc, the episcopal sees were translated from unbecoming sites to such localities as were more appropriate for them, that is to say, to cities. Thus, Lichfield was removed to Chester, which was formerly called the city of Legions; Selsey to Chichester; Helmham, in the first instance, to Thetford, then (by bishop Herbert) to Norwich; Shirburn to Salisbury; Dorchester to Lincoln; and (lately) Wells to Bath. For so entirely had heavenly tastes pervaded the breast and the lips of Lamfranc—so completely had pure Latinity, through his instruction, penetrated every one of the liberal arts—so thoroughly had the monastic discipline associated itself with religion, through the example or the apprehension of this man—that, at this period of which we are speaking, there was neither ambition among the bishops nor venality among the

[1] Gloucester; see Wilkins' Concil. i. 369.

abbots. The man who had the reputation for the possession of the most approved sanctity, was most honoured and favoured by the king and the archbishop: and while Lamfranc was diffusing his wisdom through England and Ireland, Scotland and Wales, he thereby elevated his church of Canterbury to the highest eminence; for he regained its rights and privileges, and restored to it those lost lands which the plunderer had taken away; of which we will speak more fully hereafter. And as the church of Canterbury and its offices had been burnt down during the period of the wars, and the number and the discipline of the monks had been lowered, Lamfranc renewed the whole; for he pulled down the older portions from the foundation, and built anew the church of Canterbury, with its offices, within the precinct; together with the precinct itself, in which, in process of time, he placed one hundred monks. He made this prudent arrangement, that in Christ Church there should be seven score monks, or one hundred and fifty, in orders; over whom he appointed a prior, and he provided it with countless ornaments of all kinds. He also restored and completed the church of St. Andrew of Rochester, which king Ethelbert had previously founded; and this he enriched with precious ornaments, and filled with monks. Also he restored the church of St. Alban's, which king Ine had founded long previously; and therein he instituted monks. He began from the foundations, and finished, the church of pope St. Gregory, outside the walls of Canterbury, and the hospital; as also the church of St. Nicolas, towards the west of the city, and an hospital for monks: in which churches he placed monks, in order that they might supply the spiritual wants of these sick men, both while alive and when dead. Moreover, he provided these invalids with victuals, for which he assigned rents. Upon the manors appertaining to the archbishopric he erected churches and decent houses. At that famous meeting of the English nobility and elders which was held at Pinindene by the king's command, Lamfranc impleaded and recovered the lands, liberties, and customs which had been taken away; and just as the king freely enjoys the customs due to him in his lands, so the archbishop and the church of Canterbury hold their lands, their men, their customs, their rights, and their liberties everywhere, according to the royal charters which that same church possesses, chiefly by that of St. Edward, and all his successors.

While king William was intent upon many and weighty affairs in the parts beyond the seas, he appointed Lamfranc as the judge and ruler of everything in England; for he was acceptable to this king William amongst the others, or rather before the others, and was very efficient in the management of all those affairs which appertain to God. Hence it was that he always busied himself to make the king devout also, and to revive religion and morality among every order of men throughout the entire realm. Nor was he disappointed in his wishes; for, by his perseverance and learning, religion increased throughout the whole of England, and everywhere new monasteries were erected.

Afterwards, when king William the first died in Normandy in

the twenty-first year of his reign, having summoned the bishops and chiefs of England, Lamfranc elected William, the king's son, consecrated him, and crowned him king at Westminster, on the fifth of the kalends of October [27th Sept.]; for he had previously educated him, and made him a knight. After this, Lamfranc still continued intent, as he always before had been, on the correction of the books of the Old and New Testament, either by his own hand or that of others. He was so liberal to the poor, that he is reported to have given in alms five hundred pounds yearly. He awarded sufficient benefices to such of the relations of the monks as were needy. The prognostic text at his consecration was this: "Give alms, ... and, behold, all things are clean unto you." [Luke xi. 41.] He might say that, from his youth up, mercy had increased along with him;[1] for he was pleasant and yet humble, liberal in his alms, a catholic in his faith, a builder up of the christian religion, a keeper of the poor, the protector of the orphan, and the comforter of the widow and the oppressed. Adorned with these and other virtues, he kept his faith in a holy life, and finished his course by a holy death; for, as his departure drew near, he sickened and died on the Monday after the octaves of Pentecost, being the fifth of the kalends of June [28th May],[2] in the nineteenth year of his patriarchate, being the first hour of the day; and he was buried in Christ Church (which he had built), in the presence of Thomas, archbishop of York, and the bishops of England.

After his decease, the widowed church of Canterbury continued vacant for four years, having no pastor. Tears are better adapted than words to tell how many and how great were the afflictions and the losses which not only the church of Canterbury, but the whole church of England, endured at the hands of William the second; for, giving the bridle to lust, he wallowed in every species of defilement, and was a madman no less in his wantonness than his cruelty. He confiscated the lands and rents of the church of Canterbury (which at that time was vacant), and of every other vacant church: he oppressed their men, he curtailed their rights, he reduced their liberties to nothing; and in this cruel affliction he kept the church of Canterbury for four years. At length sickness laid him upon his bed, and his life was despaired of; whereupon it was suggested to him that at last he should have some fear for God and take pity upon himself, and give away the vacant churches, more especially that of Canterbury, the mother church of all the others. He at last consented to do so, provided a fitting individual could be found.

Anselm, abbot of Bec, was elected. He was at that time in England, engaged in visiting the churches which were in subjection to the order of Bec. But we must here interrupt the progress of our reader, to introduce a few short observations concerning this father; after which he will proceed on his way with greater devotion.

[1] See Job xxxi. 18, Vulg.
[2] A doubtful date; see Angl. Sacr. i. 108.

Anselm was born in the city of Aosta; his father's name was Gundulf, and his mother's Ermenburga. From his infancy he embraced the fear of the Lord; from which, in after years, sprung the works of true justice. While yet a youth he gave his mind to literature and morality, and in a few years he lived a long life. After having spent three years in France or Burgundy, he went to join Lamfranc in Normandy; for all those persons who aimed at making any progress either in wisdom or eloquence flocked from the different quarters of the world to attend his instruction, since, by universal consent, he was considered to have reached the highest point of eminence. Anselm was admitted to terms of greater intimacy with him than any of the others, and he drunk in, so to speak, the spirit of the master. Yet Anselm perceived that one thing was necessary, since none of the learning of this world can confer true happiness. Having, therefore, resolved to dedicate himself entirely to the Lord, he at last became a monk at Bec, where, under abbot Lamfranc, the office of prior was at that time filled by Herlewin. Profiting by the instruction of these two persons, Anselm made such progress within three years, that he deservedly became to all observers the living example of true holiness. When Lamfranc was removed to assume the government of the monastery of Caen, Anselm succeeded him as prior of the church of Bec. His study was how best to advance in religion, taking as the pattern of his life not the usages of men, but the word of God; for he was assiduous in his meditation upon the divine law; he practised it diligently, he recounted it faithfully, and he prayed for it devoutly. To him might be applied what had been said of Martin: "Christ was never absent from his mouth; nor was justice, nor peace, nor whatever appertained to a truthful life." He had always before his eyes the fear of the Lord; and more than can be explained he dreaded even the appearance of evil; he affectionately extended to all the love of a father; he so investigated the paths of true knowledge, as that he read the writings of the faithful, corrected the mistakes of books, and did not permit the strength of his mind to waver from the worship of true justice. The spirit of counsel was so strong in him, that to him flocked from all sides crowds of those who were desolate. Truth showed herself to him with such an unveiled face, that he could clearly understand the dark sayings of the scriptures; he could easily untie the knottiest questions; he frequently laid open the hidden things of the heart; and by a certain spirit of prophecy he could often foretell the secrets of the future. Spiritual wisdom was so strong in him, that he cared for nothing but God; and with the apostle he confessed God "out of a pure heart, and of a good conscience, and of faith unfeigned." [1 Tim. i. 5.] "Who is weak, and I am not weak? who is offended, and I burn not?" [2 Cor. xi. 29.] Intent upon the advancement of others (chiefly of the young and the weak), he so obtained for himself divine grace, that he ruled over them rather by gentleness than authority; relaxing, however, nothing of the stringency of the order, whilst he was always more prone to mercy than to severity: for he well knew that

the effect of authority and austerity is rather to gender fear than love, and that without love order cannot exist; for no true religion can exist without love, nor can love be won by constraint. He was ever intent upon works of charity and mercy, whereby he had much fruit in the Lord; and he always studied the profit of the brethren. As he strove to be gentle towards all men, and to harm none, so also was he peaceful with those who hated him; yet, all this notwithstanding, he could not escape the envy which springs from either the possession of virtue and success, or their reputation. Anselm mastered demons, removed diseases, foretold future events, did and taught the law of the Lord, and proved by abundant tokens that he was an apostolic man. At this time he wrote three books; one concerning Truth, the second about Free-will, the third touching the Fall of the Devil. He wrote also a book upon Grammar and the Monologion, and another entitled Prosologion. From this time he more and more shunned the world, and more warmly embraced the true theory of monkdom; in consequence of which very many people flocked to him from remote regions, anxious to secure, some his assistance, some his advice. Upon the death of abbot Herlewin, Anselm, although unwilling and resisting, succeeded him. In order that he might devote himself more uninterruptedly to prayer and study, and the office of the word, he appointed certain brethren—those who were the best qualified for the duty—to undertake the charge of suits and external avocations; for it is scarcely possible at any time to engage in a lawsuit without the sacrifice of charity. So great was his humility towards his guests, that often for their sakes did he plunder the refectory of the monks; so abundant the bowels of his mercy towards the poor, that his one maxim appeared to be this: "Give thyself to the Lord." We are indebted to Anselm for the solemn celebration of the festival of the holy martyr Elfege; for upon his arrival in England, to visit the churches entrusted to him, and see his master Lamfranc, who at that time was archbishop, the latter, amongst his other friendly observations, remarked that the English had appointed to themselves several saints; one of whom was a certain archbishop Elfege, whom the Danes had murdered, because he would not consent to plunder his followers for his own ransom. Anselm showed, upon reasonable grounds, that Elfege, having suffered in a righteous cause, ought to be regarded as a true martyr of God; whereupon Lamfranc instituted a solemn celebration of his memory. But since no authentic records could be found respecting Bregwin, Adelard, Alfric, and the other archbishops, no solemnities were instituted for them. Having visited Lamfranc, Anselm returned home; and afterwards, upon the death of king William the first (which occurred in Normandy), his son William was crowned by Lamfranc. Upon the death of that archbishop, the church of Canterbury was vacant for four years; and in the fourth year Anselm was summoned to come into England by the nobles. On his arrival at the court, he was honourably received by the king. Anselm addressed the king in private; he rebuked his excesses, he pointed out to him wherein he had transgressed, he admonished

him to amend, and he drew a picture of the king's character to himself. They parted; and the king, attacked with a severe illness, was laid upon his bed, and his life was despaired of. His friends advised him that, as he was in this extremity, he should take pity upon himself, and give the church of Canterbury—the mother church of England—a pastor worthy of her. He followed their advice, and declared that Anselm was the individual who was fittest for the office. This decision was joyfully hailed by all; and Anselm was elected on the second of the nones of March [6th March, A.D. 1093], being the first Sunday in Lent. But when he heard this, he opposed it, he strove against it, and resisted it; but the convent of the church of God prevailed, and Anselm was violently dragged, rather than conducted, with hymns into the neighbouring church. When he was led, though unwillingly, to the king, in order that, according to the usual custom, he might receive the pastoral staff from the king's hand, Anselm held back, and refused it as much as he was able. But the staff, somehow or other, having been forced into his hand out of doors, the king commanded that, without any delay or diminution, he should be invested in all that belonged to the archbishopric, as well things internal as external; and that the city of Canterbury (which Lamfranc had held in his time of the king), and the abbey of St. Albans (which Lamfranc and his predecessors had also held), should pass in perpetuity to the church of Canterbury, as of fee. Shortly after this the king recovered; and Anselm, scarce yet consenting to the election, was consecrated in the church of Canterbury, on the second of the nones of December [4th Dec.], by Thomas, archbishop of York, in the presence and with the aid of the bishops of England.

In the year of grace one thousand and ninety-three, when he was at the king's court, during the three days of the Lord's nativity, which were being spent in great joy, the king conceived great hostility against him, because he refused to give him a thousand pounds of silver, as if in return for the archbishopric, to which he had presented him, as he stated, without price or reward. When the king was on his way to the sea, and Anselm entreated him for the peace of the church, the king, in his anger, commanded him to depart, and not to wait any longer upon him, as he was crossing. From that day the church of Canterbury was smitten; its possessions were diminished, its tenants were vexed with suits and costs, and matters grew daily from bad to worse. Anselm was not efficient in worldly matters, and would not give his attention to lawsuits; but he entrusted all these affairs to a prudent monk named Baldewin. In the mean time he wrote the book "Upon the Incarnation of the Word." Upon the king's return from the parts beyond the sea, Anselm petitioned him for permission to go to pope Urban to obtain his pall. The king fired at the name of Urban; and he affirmed that in his realm no one ought to be styled pope without his approbation. A day and place were assigned to Anselm, at which he was required to answer for this presumption. The parties met, and all proclaimed that they held with the king; and the loudest in asserting the king's opinion were the bishops, who,

when Anselm had bridled them by arguments deduced from the scriptures and canonical writings, all with one voice roared out that he had sinned against the king's majesty in proposing any laws whatever to his majesty's inclination; for these miserable creatures dared not ascribe anything to God, save with the king's permission. At a single word from the king, all of them withdrew their obedience from their archbishop, and abjured communion with him; and the king professed open hostility, and refused to afford him any protection. This made him only more constant in his resolutions, and he departed from the court. The king, in the mean time, having secretly sent messengers to pope Urban (whom he hated), obtained the pall from him; meaning either thus to bend Anselm to his own will, or to expel him entirely, and to give the archbishopric—and with it the pall—to another person. When he was apprised of this, Anselm refused to accept the pall at the king's hand, and to obtain his friendship by means of money; so the pall was taken to Canterbury by the bishop of Albi, and laid upon the altar of Christ [Church], from which Anselm received it. In process of time, Anselm requested of the king that a council might be celebrated for the extirpation of those crying vices which had everywhere sprung up. Indignant hereat, the king's fury burst out afresh against Anselm; but he, coming to Canterbury, obtained leave of absence, in the first place from the monks, and next from the clergy and the people, to whom he had publicly declared the reason of his journey. He assumed the staff and scrip of a pilgrim before the altar of Christ, and so proceeding to Dover, he crossed the sea; whereupon the king confiscated all his lands. Anselm was now honoured by all, all flocked to him, all loved him; for the venerable grey hairs of the old man earned for him mingled reverence and affection. Every age and condition and profession sided with Anselm; but his enemies were those of his own household—that is to say, the bishops. And it must be admitted, that in those days the church of Canterbury found more faith among strangers than her own children; for the sons persecuted the father: and truly, we repeat it, a man's enemies were those of his own household, for the suffragans were opposed to their primate.

It does not fall within the scope of our present narrative to record the great oppressions and losses which Anselm endured for these three years under king William, and afterwards under king Henry, respecting the investitures of churches. For even the monks of the church of Canterbury were not blameless in participating in this act of persecution. Any one who wishes to know more about the matter has only to read the works of Edmer the Chanter, or his History of his own Times, which contain a narrative of this father's sayings and deeds. Yet, although pope Urban honoured him much and heard him willingly, but, at the king's command, he postponed the decision of his cause from the festival of Easter to that of Michaelmas,[1] In the interval, Anselm wrote his book entitled "Why God was made Man;" and another, "On the Conception of the Virgin, and Original Sin." At the council of Bari,[2]

[1] A.D. 1098.

[2] October 1st, 1098.

Anselm, at the request of pope Urban, refuted the Greeks; and at that at Rome,[1] the same pope pronounced the sentence of excommunication upon all those persons who make investitures of vacant churches, and those also who receive them at the hands of laymen. But before the day which Urban had fixed for Anselm's cause, that pope died,[2] and king William was shot by an arrow and was killed in the New Forest,[3] and his younger brother Henry was crowned king; whereupon, to the comfort of the church of Christ, Anselm was recalled. He was met, in the first place, by the monks of Canterbury: and the king himself took charge of his return. So he came home again; and the coronation of the king having been confirmed, Anselm crowned his queen, Matilda, at Westminster. But when Anselm came to tell the king what had been done by pope Urban, in respect to the investitures of churches, Henry lost his temper, and matters took an unfavourable turn. It would be too long were I to relate the great and continued sufferings which, for two years and a half, he underwent for the liberty of the church. At length, at the entreaty of the king, he was sent to Rome, that even by this means he might induce pope Paschal, who had succeeded Urban, to change his resolution; yet the labour and the outlay were fruitless, and the king's decision forbade Anselm from returning into England, and ordered the confiscation of the archbishopric. Pope Paschal compelled Gerard, archbishop of York, to render due subjection to Anselm, upon whom he confirmed the primacy of the whole of England. But as soon as king Henry became aware that the pope stood firm in his decision, and that Anselm also was inflexible, he recalled him, after the absence of a year and a half; and he returned into Normandy. The king now received him as his friend, and admitted him to his property. Returning thence to England by a favourable voyage, he was welcomed with honour and joy by all. It afforded the king no little satisfaction to find that he had come to an amicable settlement with Anselm; whereupon, abandoning the usage of his predecessors, he neither made elections of individuals, nor invested them by staff, or by aught else.

Anselm celebrated one council at Westminster, at which were present Gerard, archbishop of York, and the bishops and abbots of England. Among the other chapters which he there promulgated, he deposed (for certain reasons) Wido, the abbot of Pershore, Wimund of Tavistock, Aldwin of Ramsey, Godric, the abbot elect of Peterborough, Hamo of Cernel, Egeilric of Middelton, Richard of Ely, Robert of St. Edmunds, and the abbot of Muchelney. He consecrated the following bishops at various times: Samson to the church of Worcester, and Gerard to that of Hereford; both in the church of St. Paul in London, and in the presence of Thomas, archbishop of York, and the bishops of England. During the reign of king Henry he consecrated, in Christ Church at Canterbury, the following: William, bishop of Winchester, Roger of Salisbury, Reinelm of Hereford, William of Exeter, Urban of Glamorgan, with the cooperation of Gerard of York, and six bishops of England. Also, at Pageham, he consecrated Richard

[1] April 25th, 1099. [2] July 29th, 1099. [3] August 2d. 1100.

bishop of London; and on the death of Gundulf, bishop of Rochester, Anselm gave the bishopric of the same church to a certain abbot of Seez named Ralph, whom he consecrated in Christ Church at Canterbury. He gave the benediction to Robert as abbot of St. Edmunds, and Hugh of St. Augustine's at Canterbury, whose due profession he received. He recalled to the obedience—an obedience which it was incumbent upon him to render to the see of Canterbury—Thomas, archbishop elect of York, the successor of Gerard, who wished to draw back from it; and this he did after his death, by letters patent addressed to this Thomas and all the English bishops, through the agency of the venerable prior Conrad. He granted an unwonted amount of liberty to the convent of the church of Canterbury, which he always most affectionately loved, so that in the portion which appertained to it, the free liberty of disposal of its own property should be enjoyed. Anselm's strength began to decline in the course of the third year after his return from his second exile under king Henry. A disease of the stomach (whose functions were exhausted), unattended however by any pain, confined him to his bed, where, surrounded by the whole assembled convent of the brethren, he surrendered his spirit to God his Creator, and so fell asleep in peace on the eleventh of the kalends of May [21st April], in the year of grace one thousand one hundred and nine, in the sixteenth year of his pontificate, and in the seventy-sixth of his age: and on the morrow afterwards he was buried with due honour in Christ Church. The church of Canterbury was vacant for five years after his decease; and in the beginning of the sixth year from Anselm's death Ralph was elected.

Ralph, bishop of Rochester, and formerly abbot of Seez, a man of great pleasantness of spirit, and very sufficiently instructed in literature, was elected to the archbishopric; and he received the pall from the hands of Anselm, the legate sent by the lord pope Paschal. Ralph, now made archbishop, gave the bishopric of Rochester to Ernulf, abbot of Peterborough, and consecrated him in the church of Canterbury; and at the same time he consecrated Geoffrey to the church of Hereford. In process of time he also consecrated Theowulf to the church of Worcester, Bernard to the church of St. David's in Wales, at Westminster; and in the same place he consecrated David, who had been elected to the church of Bangor. He consecrated also Richard to the church of Hereford, Robert to that of Chester, Everard to Norwich, Gregory to Dublin, in Ireland: these at Lambeth. He also gave his benediction to the following abbot—Albold, abbot of St. Edmund's. He also crowned as queen, Alice, the daughter of Geoffrey, duke of Lorraine.

In the mean time a dispute had been going on for a year between Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury, and Thurstan, [archbishop] elect of York; for archbishop Ralph had admonished the archbishop elect to receive from him the benediction, and render to him the profession which was due: whereupon he consented to receive the benediction, but utterly disdained to make the profession. When

king Henry was aware that Thurstan was firm in his refusal, he openly declared that either he should do to the church of Canterbury what was her due by ancient right—making his profession thereto according to the usage of his predecessors, and also preserving her other dignities—or that he should utterly lose both the benediction and the bishopric of York. When he heard this decision, Thurstan, without any hesitation, renounced his election, and pledged his faith that as long as he lived he would make no demand for the archbishopric, nor would he advance any claim thereto, whoever might be appointed in his stead. But presently he repented of what he had done, and he took all the pains possible to regain what he had thus heedlessly or constrainedly cast aside. Archbishop Ralph went to Rome, and was honourably received by the Romans. On the feast of St. Gregory the pope [12th March], he celebrated mass on the altar of St. Peter; but he returned home without having accomplished the object of his mission, for pope Paschal died,[1] and out of fear of the emperor (who also had appointed Gregory), Gelasius came into France; where, as he was threatening how he would punish this person and that person, he fell sick and died,[2] and Calixtus obtained the papacy while in France. Calixtus summoned a general council to meet at Rheims, which archbishop Ralph could not attend, for he was detained at home by sickness; but there Thurstan, formerly the elect of York, waited upon the pope, and utterly forgetful of the pledge and promise which he had formerly given the king, he obtained, without difficulty, the pope's consent to his consecration; which was done forthwith. The pope commanded that the French bishops should be present at this consecration, because the English bishops had not as yet arrived at the council. Exceedingly incensed thereat, the king forbade Thurstan from entering either England or Normandy, or indeed any of his dominions; but afterwards he was permitted to return into England, by the entreaties and threats of Calixtus.

The nobles of the kingdom at this time had a meeting to discuss the queen's marriage, and her promotion to the kingdom; and it was arranged that this should be carried into execution at Windsor; whereupon the bishop of Salisbury, in whose diocese that castle is situated, attempted to officiate at the marriage. But the other bishops opposed this, and decided that the office belonged to the archbishop of Canterbury for this reason; that the king and queen are his special and private parishioners, nor can the individual diocesan jurisdiction of any bishop deprive him of this his acknowledged privilege, since the whole land is the diocese of the archbishop of Canterbury by right of the primacy of Canterbury, and all the bishops of the whole island enjoy the dioceses which they hold only through him and from him. Thus they decided this controversy. But on the morrow, when the damsel was to have been crowned queen, and after the Introit had been said, and father Ralph, who was standing at the altar, was about to celebrate the office of the mass, he perceived that the king was seated on the

[1] In January, 1118. [2] January 29th, 1119.

throne with the crown on his head; at which he was astonished, well knowing that the crown had not been placed on the king's head by him, and that while he was present no one had any right to place the crown there. So, robed as he was, and adorned with his archiepiscopal stole, he left the altar, and advancing to the king (who rose up as a suppliant to meet him), he inquired of him who had placed the crown on his head. With downcast look and humble voice the king replied that he did not care much about it, and had forgotten who had done it; whereupon the archbishop said, "Whosoever he be who has done this, he has done it against right and justice; nor so long as it is placed upon your head thus will I proceed with my office which I have begun." The king replied, "If, as you assert, it has been unjustly done, do what you know to be right, and thereto I will not be the person to offer any opposition." The archbishop thereupon raised his hands, and took the crown from off the king's head; who himself undid the clasp which secured it under his chin, in order that it might sit firmly on his head. When they who were standing round and looking on saw what was being done, they all with a loud voice entreated the archbishop to be merciful, and to replace the crown on the king's head: to which he assented; and then standing near the king, who was now crowned, he began the "Gloria in excelsis," in the mass which had already been commenced, and the choir took up the sequence, standing at the altar. Thus the queen was crowned, likewise; and all the people who had flocked thither kept it as a joyful festival. She was named Alice, and was the daughter of Geoffrey, duke of Lorraine.

By the permission and consent of the monks of Canterbury, this archbishop gave the archdeaconry of that church to his nephew John, in the chapter of Canterbury, and in the presence of the convent of the brethren; where, according to the usual custom, he swore that in all things he would observe fealty to that church. But still Thurstan, archbishop of York, continued in his rebellion. Archbishop Ralph sat for eight years and six months, and at last, exhausted by sickness, he died on the third of the kalends of November [30th Nov.],[1] thus passing away to eternal life, and was buried. In the fourth month after his death, that is, on the second of the nones of February [4th Feb.], a meeting of the bishops, abbots, and nobles, was held at Gloucester, by the king's command, for the appointment of a successor in the place of the deceased archbishop; and by his directions some of the monks of Canterbury also attended there to elect, or receive a father. But when the monks decreed that one of their own order should be elected, according to the usage which had prevailed in the church of Canterbury from the time of St. Augustine, and were strenuously opposed herein by the bishops, all of whom were clerks, they prostrated themselves at the king's feet, and with a lamentable voice entreated that he would not permit to be placed over them, contrary to ancient precedent, one of a different profession, while England had so many abbots and monks. Incensed hereat, the

[1] A faulty date; see Angl. Sacr. i. 109.

bishops would by no means give their assent. The monks asked for a delay, in order that they might hereupon consult the convent of Canterbury and the bishop of Rochester, who was not able to be present in consequence of sickness. This petition was also rejected; and the bishops said that they ought to be entirely expelled from the church, like malefactors and despisers. "The king," said the bishops, "is master; nor does it become you in any respect to oppose his will." So when the monks insisted upon electing a monk, and the bishops a clerk, they at last decided upon a man of approved religion and prudence, named William.

WILLIAM, prior and canon of St. Osith, of Chich, was elected; and he was consecrated by Richard, bishop of London, in the presence and with the assistance of William, bishop of Winchester, and the bishops of England, in the church of Canterbury, upon the twelfth of the kalends of March [18th Feb.], in the year of our Lord one thousand one hundred and twenty-two. Immediately afterwards he went to Rome, and received from pope Calixtus the pall and the archiepiscopal dignity. Returning home to Canterbury, he was received with the utmost honour by four bishops, the convent of the monks, the clergy, and people; and having been robed in his pall, he was then enthroned. Thereupon, the same day he consecrated Alexander bishop elect to the government of the church of Lincoln. Then, coming to London, he consecrated in the episcopal see, Godfrey bishop elect of the church of Bath. He also consecrated abbot Seinfrid to the church of Chichester, at Lambeth. In the church of Canterbury he consecrated, as bishop of Rochester, John, archdeacon of Canterbury, Simon to Worcester, and Gilbert to London. He consecrated also in the church of Canterbury, as bishop of Winchester, Henry, the king's nephew by his sister Alice; he was a monk of Cluny, and abbot of Glastonbury. In the church of Rochester he consecrated Roger to the church of Chester, and Robert to that of Hereford. Henry, formerly bishop of Bangor, and afterwards the first bishop of Ely, having died, he was succeeded by Nigel, whom William, archbishop of Canterbury, consecrated. This abbey of Ely was changed into a bishopric in the time of Anselm. He also gave the benediction to Herbert as abbot of Shrewsbury, and Hugh of St. Augustine's, at Canterbury; concerning whose benediction, when his monks went to law (but unsuccessfully), king Henry said, "By the death of our Lord, our common mother church, the church of Canterbury, shelters herself under the protection of her spouse, the Lord Jesus Christ; for whatever we do, or intend to do, against her interests, He opposes and overrules. He everywhere shows forth His strength against her enemies, and He triumphs over them and rules them, and reigns."

At this time there came into England a certain legate named John, who was too pompously received by William, archbishop of Canterbury, and Thurstan, archbishop of York, and the bishops of England. Having gone through the whole of England, this legate presently held a council at Westminster, and put the whole kingdom into no small state of indignation. For there you might have seen a sight hitherto unknown in the realm of England—a clerk,

who had attained no higher grade than that of the priesthood, seated aloft on a throne, and presiding over the whole assembly who had flocked thither, over archbishops, bishops, abbots, and the whole of the nobility of the kingdom; while they, occupying a lower position, composed their countenances and bridled their lips, like men dependent upon his nod. Upon Easter-day (which was the day on which he first landed in England) he celebrated the office of that festival in the mother church instead of the archbishop, sitting aloft on an elevated throne and using the insignia of an archbishop, although he was no bishop, but simply a priest-cardinal. This occurrence deeply wounded and scandalized the minds of many persons, and clearly indicates not only the novelty of the occurrence, but also how much the liberty of the ancient realm of England was now violated. For it is a thing most notorious to all men within the entire kingdom of England, and to all the neighbouring regions, that from the time of Augustine, that most holy man, who was the first metropolitan of Canterbury, until this William, all Augustine's successors were monks, and were styled and considered primates and patriarchs; nor were they at any time in subjection to the Roman legate. Many persons attributed the origin of this scandal to the fact, that in the church of Canterbury a clerk—though a good man—presided over the monks. Indignant at this, archbishop William crossed the sea on his way to Rome, in order that he might do his best to correct those matters which were thus out of joint; and so he came to Rome, and was honourably received by pope Honorius, the successor of Calixtus. The same apostolic man made him his own representative in England and Scotland, and entrusted him with the office of legate of the apostolic see. Having returned to England at our Lord's nativity, archbishop William crowned Henry at Windsor; where the bishop of York was repulsed, by universal consent, when he desired to crown the king, as if he were on an equality with the archbishop of Canterbury: whereupon, with the unanimous consent of all, sentence was pronounced that the crown of the realm did not belong to him. Moreover, the bearer of the cross, which he had caused to be carried before himself in the king's chapel, was thrust out from the chapel along with the cross.

At the instigation of this archbishop, king Henry gave and confirmed to the church of Canterbury, and to archbishop William, the castle which stands within the city of Rochester; where the same archbishop erected a splendid tower. Next, William, as archbishop and legate of the apostolic see, celebrated a general council at Westminster, where thirteen bishops were present; the others were either dead or sent letters excusing themselves. On the third of the nones of May [5th May], one thousand one hundred and thirty, he dedicated with great splendour and magnificence the church of Canterbury, which had been founded and finished by Lamfranc, but which had been enlarged by Anselm. At this dedication Henry, king of England, was present, and gave in dower to that church the church of St. Martin, which Wihtred, king of Kent, had founded of old in the town of Dover. David, king of

Scotland, and all the bishops of England, were also present at this dedication, the like to which had not been heard of upon the earth since the dedication of the temple of Solomon. On the third of the nones of May [5th May], that same archbishop dedicated the new church of St. Andrew, at Rochester. Five years afterwards, the illustrious king Henry having died in Normandy, the archbishop summoned the bishops and nobles of England; and as the realm had at that time no fitting ruler, he crowned Stephen, count of Boulogne, at Westminster, on the eleventh[1] of the kalends of January, because he was king Henry's nephew. It is reported that two wonderful incidents occurred at this coronation: the kiss of peace, which it is the usage of holy church to give to the people, was entirely forgotten; and it is reported that the host disappeared from out of the hands of the archhishop. At this time there were secular canons in the old church of Dover, who, as usual, led a life full of vice. The archbishop having ascertained that their mode of living was exceedingly depraved, and that the site of their residence —which was within the very heart of a small though very populous town—was by no means adapted for the conversation of men of religion, he gave orders that with all speed a new and stately church should be erected outside the town, towards the south, in which it was his intention to place canons regular. But in the mean time, having been confined to his bed by sickness at Murtelac, he gave directions that the canons of Merton should be introduced into the new church; employing herein the agency of two bishops, John of Rochester, and Bernard of St. David's. Halewis, archdeacon of Canterbury, who himself was also a canon, was present; as was also Elmar, the prior of Canterbury (a man of the greatest simplicity), but without the knowledge of the convent of Canterbury. But Jeremy, a monk of Canterbury, arrived there soon afterwards, and, as the representative of the convent, he appealed to the pope against these proceedings; and so this affair was thwarted. When this intelligence was carried to the archbishop it augmented his infirmities; whereupon he ordered that he should be carried to Canterbury in a litter, where, his illness increasing, he died peacefully on the sixth of the kalends of December [26th Nov.], in the year one thousand one hundred and thirty-six. When he had been honourably buried, the convent of Canterbury sent twelve monks to Dover; and upon the death of prior Elmar (an innocent and single-minded man), Jeremy was made prior. The church of Canterbury was vacant for two years after the death of William. During this interval Alberic, bishop of Ostia, and legate of England, arrived here. By the consent of king Stephen, he journeyed through the whole of England, and celebrated a council at Westminster; an there the monks of Canterbury were summoned into the presence of the king and the legate, in order that they should choose a pastor for themselves and the church of England; and there, in presence of the legate, and the king, and the bishops of England, prior Jeremy, and those monks who had come with him, elected a monk of Bec, Theobald by name.

[1] December the 22d, but the true date is December the 20th, 1135.

THEOBALD, on his arrival at Canterbury, was consecrated by the legate aforesaid, on the sixth of the ides of January [8th Jan.], in the year which we have already mentioned; while the bishops of England stood and assisted at the altar of Christ. A few days afterwards the legate crossed the sea; and Theobald, the archbishop, instituted and confirmed the monks of Dover in the year aforesaid, and then went to the Roman pontiff for his pall. Having received it from Innocent the second, the pope of Rome, Theobald returned into England, and was honourably welcomed by the people of Canterbury. At this time Henry, bishop of Winchester, the king's brother, was legate of the apostolic see. He exercised his legatine rights, although they were his rights, beyond discretion, and daily cited his archbishop and the bishops of England to attend upon him; whereupon, Theobald becoming incensed, and trusting to the efforts of Thomas, a clerk, of London, so managed the matter with pope Celestine, who had succeeded Innocent, that Henry was removed from his legatine office in England, and Theobald substituted. Hence originated bitter disputes, suits, and appeals on either side, the like to which were hitherto unknown. Then lawyers and pleaders were now for the first time called into England; the chief of whom was master Vacarius, who taught law at Oxford; and at Rome were master Gratian and Alexander, also named Rodland (who shortly afterwards became pope), and who compiled canons.

Thurstan, archbishop of York, having died in the mean time, was succeeded by William, to whom the king gave the see. Archbishop Theobald, refusing to consent to his election, Henry, bishop of Winchester, consecrated him in that city. Theobald consecrated the following bishops at different times, and in various places; that is to say, Maurice, bishop of Bangor, William, bishop of Norwich, Robert, bishop of London, Hilary, bishop of Chichester; and to Walter, his brother, who was archdeacon of Canterbury, he gave the bishopric of Rochester, in the chapter-house of Canterbury. He consecrated also Nicolas bishop of Landaff, Gilbert bishop of Hereford, Robert of Lincoln, David of St. David's, Walter of Coventry (he was prior of the church of Canterbury), John of Worcester, Geoffrey of St. Asaph, and Richard also of the same see, Richard of London, Robert of Exeter, Geoffrey of Landaff, Richard of Coventry; he also consecrated Roger, archdeacon of Canterbury, to the rule of the church of York; and he was succeeded in the archdeaconry (by the gift of the archbishop and the assent of the convent) by Thomas, a clerk, of London. Theobald also blessed these abbots: Lambert, of Boxley; Clarebald, the first abbot of Faversham; Thomas, of Boxley; Hugh, of St. Edmund's; Gregory, of Malmesbury; Walter, of Boxley; and Silvester, of St. Augustine's, of Canterbury. This Silvester, supported by the favour of king Stephen, and of his brother Henry, bishop of Winchester, had endeavoured to procure from pope Eugenius a mandate that he should be blessed as abbot in his church, without making any profession, thereby causing it to become tributary to Rome; but some time afterwards, during the reign of the glorious king

Henry, Theobald, in the presence of the king and the bishops of England, compelled him, by the command of pope Adrian, to render submission to him, by making the profession which was due. Eugenius, having left Rome, came into France, and took up his abode at Rheims; and the bishops on this side of the Alps having been summoned thither, the archbishop of Canterbury also reached that city, grievously wearied with the journey. It is reported that the bishop of Winchester had been urgent with the king to forbid the archbishop to cross the sea, and to threaten that, if he did so, he should be regarded as a man who despised the royal authority; but yet if he did not obey the pope he would have been punished for his contempt. It were difficult to describe the exceeding joy and honour with which he was welcomed by the pope, who, in the presence of the whole assemblage, declared that he had arrived there rather by swimming than by sailing; and this he had done out of his regard for the blessed Peter. In this council William, bishop of York, was deposed; and he was succeeded by Henry. On the rising of the council, the archbishop returned to Canterbury; whereupon the king, moved to anger, came thither with all despatch, and the archbishop fled from England. But influential mediators having interceded between them, (without, however, being able to accomplish a reconciliation) the archbishop returned to England, and landed at Goseford; and he pronounced a sentence of suspension upon the land which owned the king's authority. At length, however, after many bishops had mediated between them on both sides, peace was restored, and the archbishop recovered his own rights.

In the mean time, a sharp disagreement had arisen between Stephen and Henry, the son of count Geoffrey, which threatened the destruction of the whole country. This most cruel tempest fell heavily upon the holy church of Canterbury, since its whole income did not suffice to meet its expenses; for from all sides the poor and the mendicants flocked thither, since they could find little or no comfort elsewhere, now that the famine was upon the land. Upon this occasion certain ornaments of the church of Canterbury were taken down and disposed of for the behoof of the poor; things which in the time of peace ought to be kept for her dignity, but which in the time of want contributed to the relief of her necessity. Walter, therefore, considering that these dilapidated possessions of the church could not long keep pace with such an augmented expenditure, unless the members should contribute to the support of the head, acted upon the advice of some of his friends and went to the archbishop, whom he humbly solicited to have pity upon his convent and upon the necessities of his struggling church. The archbishop replied, "How shall I help you?" The prior said, "By being pleased to give directions that the possessions of our church should be defended against the daily incursions of robbers by the help of those earls, barons, and knights, who, under God, are bound to the church of Canterbury; that you would consent to restore those estates which have been emptied of their goods, and provide necessaries for your convent; for we are

constrained by the present pressure to place all in your disposal, while this disordered state of affairs pervades the whole of England." The archbishop at first resisted the prior's entreaties, and could not be induced to consent by any arguments whatever; but he was speedily led to change his decision by the urgency of his clerks, and was induced to admit that he would yield to a second appeal if it were equally urgent with the former. So prior Walter attacked the archbishop the second and third time, and easily obtaining the desired result; so the archbishop, on the request of the prior and convent, took everything into his own hands, and placed wardens at his own pleasure everywhere, both within and without. These things were the beginnings of sorrows and evils. What was done on that occasion, by the pressure of the necessities incident to a time of hostility, in process of time became a mischievous precedent. For the thoughts of man are prone to evil, more especially when he can palliate his excesses by quoting the examples of his predecessors. Any temporary advantage is to be thoroughly abominated, if it be purchased by endangering the liberty of the church. The archbishop commenced by bold measures, as if he intended forthwith to reduce everything into its original condition; but ere long he was oppressed with heavy expenses, and he speedily drew back the very first step he had taken; and then he studied how he might best cover his own losses out of another's property. And thus it came to pass that whatever the robber had permitted to escape him, either in his ignorance or his forbearance, the archbishop did not fear to carry off by the hands of his officials. Having thus plundered them of their external possessions, he reduced the miserable monks to the extremity of need; for nearly every guest was expelled from their court, and the poor were driven out. The monks themselves, who had been accustomed to a more liberal fare on the principal festivals, now satisfied their hunger with coarse bread and some herbs, several of them frequently joining in the consumption of a single loaf. But when the prior and the elders of the church of Canterbury perceived that a dreadful destruction was imminent, they entreated the archbishop, with the most humble prayers, to improve their condition, and to observe the terms which he had agreed upon when he had taken possession of their property, and thus to save the convent from the pressure of a continued want, and himself and the church from the reproach of an infamous and disgraceful destruction. When he heard this, the archbishop replied at first modestly, then angrily and unwillingly, and lastly with scorn and reproaches. Despairing thus of all redress, the prior insisted that he would at least restore to the convent the possessions of which he had robbed it; but the archbishop, spurning all advances, threatened that he would depose the prior. The latter, having waited for the fitting opportunity, and supported by the entire concurrence of the whole convent, availed himself of that remedy left for the oppressed, and appealed to the pope respecting all his grievances. The archbishop, however, growing heated in the struggle, despised alike the appealer and him to whom the appeal had been made. He compared the

convent to dogs; also he carried off the prior's horses, shut up the doors of the monks, and placed armed guards before them; he sent a clerk to interdict the performance of the divine service, laid hold of two monks who were prosecuting the appeal, put them in prison, and he plundered them not only of the money with which they had provided themselves for their expenses, but also of their writings and charters of privilege. To this spectacle flocked men of religion, endeavouring to abate such a disgrace, and to tone down, if only in appearance, the archbishop's cruelty. So at length it was brought about that the convent should renounce their appeal, and that the archbishop should restore what he had taken away from them, and remove the decree of suspension. The archbishop did indeed restore to the convent its vills and rents, but he retained the churches which the monks had formerly founded in these vills; intending to bestow them, when vacant, on his clerks, of whom he had an unusual supply. He had sworn, but privately, that they should never have an entire restitution until the offending prior, in token of his humility, should resign the priory. The prior agreed thereto, imagining that he would forthwith be reinstated; but he was entirely mistaken, for as he was following the archbishop to London he was made prisoner and hurried off to Gloucester, where he was placed in close ward; in which he continued as long as the archbishop lived. In his stead was appointed Wibert, who did many excellent works in the church.

This Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, and legate of the apostolic see, celebrated a council at London,[1] in Mid-Lent, at which were present king Stephen and his son Eustace; and the whole council resounded with new and unaccustomed appeals; for, as we have already stated, these appeals were unknown in England until Henry became bishop of Winchester. Afterwards, king Stephen becoming anxious respecting the succession of the kingdom, and desirous of placing the crown on the head of his son Eustace, an assembly of the bishops and nobles was summoned to meet at London; but on this point he was opposed by the archbishop. But the bishops having withdrawn themselves, and refusing to give him their advice thereupon, the archbishop prudently departed and came to Canterbury, and crossed over from Dover. The king hereupon confiscated the archbishopric, and thus Eustace was deprived of the honour which he had so wrongfully coveted. But the whole of this was done by the subtle foresight of a certain Thomas, a clerk, of London. After a short interval, however, the archbishop was recalled into England. He it was who crowned the king and queen in Christ Church, Canterbury. Upon the translation of Roger, archdeacon of London, and his consecration by Theobald, the archbishop gave the archdeaconry of the church of Canterbury to Thomas, a clerk, of London. After this, a treaty having been made between king Stephen and duke Henry (as is explained more fully elsewhere), king Stephen died,[2] and was buried at Faversham. Theobald summoned duke Henry into England, and crowned him at Westminster, on the 16th of the kalends of January, [17th

[1] In 1151, according to Wilkins. [2] October the 25th, 1154.

Dec.[1]] in the presence and with the assistance of the bishops of England, and Roger, archbishop of York. The archbishop so arranged with the new king, that he gave the chancellorship of the realm to Thomas the archdeacon. Archbishop Theobald sat for twenty-two years, and died on the fourteenth of the kalends of May [18th April], A.D. 1160, and was buried in Christ Church. It is not within my province at this time to recount the nature of that penance which he performed for having conferred so few advantages and inflicted so many evils upon the church of Canterbury. After his death the church of Canterbury was vacant for one year, one month, and a few days. Nineteen years after his burial the body of this Theobald was discovered entire and firm, perfect as to the bones and the nerves, the skin, and the flesh, although attenuated.

At this time THOMAS was archdeacon of Canterbury and the chancellor of king Henry, being the most influential man in England. He was a native of the city of London, the illustrious issue of parents of middle rank of life, and from his earliest youth he was rich in every grace. His father was named Gilbert, his mother Matilda: of them he was born, and by them educated. Thomas was of a goodly appearance, tall in stature, of a sharp intellect, sweet and pleasant in conversation, amiable in his manners, and of such keen powers of reasoning as to be able prudently to solve abstruse and difficult questions; and so retentive was his memory, that whatever he had once heard or read he could recal whenever he pleased without an effort. From his earliest years, as it pleased him to mention, he had learned from his mother to fear God, and devoutly to invoke the blessed Virgin in every need. He publicly compassionated beggars with his full heart, and aided them with his substance. When his education in the liberal sciences was completed, he betook himself to the occupations of the court; and so far did he gain the advantage over his companions and equals in age, that while the love of faith and splendour was strong in him, he was at the same time in the highest repute among the populace. He was one worthy to be admired and imitated for bodily chastity. Guided by grace, he betook himself to archbishop Theobald; and, as a reward for his industry, he became on intimate terms with him. I do not purpose on this occasion to reckon up the labours which he endured for the church; how often he was despatched to Rome for the transaction of business, and how successfully he achieved the matters with which he was entrusted. He afterwards devoted himself to the study of the civil law and the sacred canons, and became archdeacon of the church of Canterbury, at whose bosom he had been brought up. Shortly after this, when Henry, duke of Normandy, had succeeded king Stephen in the kingdom, the archbishop brought it about that his archdeacon Thomas should be made the chancellor. When Thomas was thus discharging in the king's palace the office of chancellor, he found such favour in his eyes, that on the decease of this archbishop of Canterbury the king caused him to fill the

[1] A doubtful date; see Nicholas's Chronology of History, p. 282, note §.

chief see of Britain; but this he did that thereby he might the more easily rule over the church of England. But Thomas had too great penetration to fail in discovering the dangers of such an office, for he had sufficient experience to know as well the burden as the honour of that dignity; and it required even less observation than he was possessed of to become aware that if he undertook the duties now placed at his disposal, he must abandon either the favour of God or the approval of the king. In consequence of this, he for some time opposed the wishes of his sovereign, and of those friends who were anxious for his promotion. But God's election, and that of the holy church of Canterbury, prevailed so much, that he was unanimously chosen at London. So, the bishops and an innumerable multitude having assembled at Canterbury, he was consecrated at Christ's altar on the second of the nones of July [6th July], being the octaves of Whitsunday, A.D. 1162, by Henry, bishop of Winchester, because at this time the church of London happened to be vacant, and the bishop of Winchester acted for its bishop in performing this and other sacramental rites. Moreover, the bishops were unwilling that the archbishop of York should consecrate him, unless he had previously rendered due profession to the church of Canterbury.

Thomas immediately despatched messengers to pope Alexander (who at that time was resident in France, for the purpose of avoiding the schism of the Romans), from whom he asked and received the plenitude of power and the pall. Immediately upon his consecration he put off the old man, and put on the hair-cloth and the character of a monk, and appointed fitting masters over himself to correct his excesses. He was ever intent upon prayers and reading; and he performed the service of the altar just as if he saw in the flesh the Lord's passion enacted. As if to instruct the faith and conversation of the beholders by his own example, he kept his hands clean from all gifts, and entirely banished from his house the filth of avarice. He was deliberate in his counsels, and in ventilating causes he gave a diligent and a modest attention. In his examinations he was a skilful questioner, ready in reply, just in his judgments, and one who most righteously carried out the decisions of the law. He received men of religion with such reverence, that it might appear as if in them he venerated God or the angels. He was so careful to exercise hospitality, that his whole store seemed poured into the common fund for their benefit. He was moderate in eating and drinking. Beneath his splendid robes he was poor in spirit. His outward countenance expressed a contented heart. He preferred abstinence even while sitting at a liberally spread board, and became all things to all men that he might win all to Christ. He was the father of the poor and the comforter of the sorrowful; and his address was at once powerful by the weight of its sentiments, and pleasing by the elegancy of its diction. He was never wearied in his assaults upon heretics and schismatics; and, fervent in his zeal for justice, he strove to give every one his due, without the remotest regard to persons or bribes. He always abominated the lying lips and the carping tongue. His great object, from his

earliest youth, was how to restore and reduce to their primitive state those rights and dignities of the church of which the civil power had deprived her: thence it followed, as a necessary consequence, that he drew down upon himself the hostility of many persons, more especially of those in power. For he demanded from the king the restoration of the lordship of the castle of Rochester, and of the tower of Saltwood and Hethe; and also the land of William de Ros; a service (unless I am mistaken) of seven knights; and other things of the same sort. He demanded from the earl of Clare the homage of the castle of Tunbridge, with the district adjacent, which is commonly styled "the bailie."[1]

Hence it came to pass that many persons influenced the king's mind prejudicially against the archbishop, and a disagreement arose between them, and was long protracted. If any one desires to know the cause and beginning of this discord, its progress and its end, let him examine those large volumes which are written upon this subject: that is to say, the life of him penned by master Herbert, who shared with him in all his sufferings, save that of martyrdom; and another written by William, the monk of Canterbury, who appended thereto an account of his miracles. Let him also read the volume of his Letters, which prior Alan compiled. Let him read the miracles penned by Benedict, of which he was an eye-witness, together with that short sketch by John, bishop of Chartres. He may also, if he will, pay a passing visit to Gervase,[2] who reduced into a short chronological narrative the doings of the archbishop. But more of this hereafter.

The disputes between the king and the archbishop grew to an immense height. The lay power acted just as it pleased, and tyrannized over things and persons; while the bishops kept silence, and the civil law was despised. At the first, the king attempted to win the archbishop over to his will by flatteries, in order that thereby he might wander from the path of justice; but the man of God, founded upon the Rock, would neither be cajoled by fair words, nor terrified by foul. This change in the arrangements of the providence of the Almighty, wicked men attempted to blacken by giving it a perverse interpretation, attributing to superstition the change which had taken place in his mode of life, and the austerities which he now practised upon himself. His zeal for justice they called cruelty; his efforts for the interests of the church they attributed to avarice; his contempt for worldly favour with them was regarded as a craving after vain-glory; the magnificence of his court was regarded as pride: if he followed in many respects his own will, which had been instructed from above, they saw therein only tokens of a haughty spirit. He often appeared to pass over the limits of the law as laid down by his predecessors—here was a proof of his rashness. In truth, there was no single thing which he could do or say which the malice of evil-disposed men did not pervert; and so far did their ill-will carry them, that

[1] See Camden's Brit. p. 126.

[2] The author of the present Chronicle, whose modesty induces him to speak of himself, here and elsewhere, in the third person.

they scrupled not to affirm that if the power of the archbishop should increase, that of the king must assuredly decay.

In the meantime he consecrated two bishops in the church of Canterbury, namely, Roger of Worcester and Robert of Hereford. A discussion, of a grave character and full of threats, took place between the archbishop and the king concerning the enforcement or annulling of the ecclesiastical law. Having commenced at Westminster, it was continued at Clarendon, and completed at Northampton; and by the instigation of the devil it daily increased in intensity; for if the king was desirous of preserving for himself the ancient customs of the crown, the bishops and the archbishops were equally firm, and would make no promise without the reservation of the rights of their order. Many persons, therefore, resolved to overthrow the man of God; but his chief enemies were his own familiar friends. He was induced, however, at length to come to terms. When he was required to reduce his assent into writing, he refused to do so, and kept in his own custody this wicked document. So the king rose up in wrath against him, as did the king's court, and the bishops accused him of perjury; and to such a height did their cruelty carry them, that many persons became apprehensive that he would either be mutilated or murdered. Whilst he was thus oppressed by all, nothing touched him more keenly than the church of Canterbury, which suffered many a diminution of her power, honour, and usefulness. The courtiers procured a decree against him in a suit respecting money matters, and advanced other claims against him, resolving to pronounce upon him the sentence of condemnation; whereupon he took in his hands the banner of the cross, invoked the assistance of the public law, and appealed; and then leaving that unhappy court by which he was stigmatized as a traitor, he changed his dress by night and departed. Some few days afterwards he arrived at Sandwich, where, accompanied by only two priests, he embarked in a small boat; and, having crossed over the sea, he arrived at St. Bertins. This occurred in the year one thousand one hundred and sixty-four.

Thus driven into banishment, this confessor of Christ was honourably welcomed by pope Alexander at Sens, and by him recommended to the monastery at Pontigny. But the king of England despatched to the pope an embassy, consisting chiefly of those bishops and nobles whom he knew to be most decidedly opposed to the archbishop; and with many promises, and more bribes, he entreated that legates might be despatched into England to decide the cause without the power of any appeal whatever. But when the messengers returned, and announced that this petition had been rejected, the king gave orders that the church, and all the goods of the archbishop and his adherents, should be confiscated. Besides this, he proceeded to a length unprecedented in any history. He proscribed and drove into exile all the archbishop's kindred, and all who were associated with him by friendship, or, indeed, in any way whatever, making herein no distinction of rank, or order, or condition, or fortune, or age, or sex. For he banished women yet

lying in childbed, and children who still were being rocked in the cradle. This mad fury proceeded yet further, and broke out into cruelties shocking to religious ears. For while the catholic church prays for even heretics and schismatics, and unbelieving Jews, the king ordered that none should help the archbishop with their prayers. The ministers of the public authority compelled all grown-up people to swear that they would visit Pontigny, thinking that even by this means they would distress the archbishop; for there this holy man afflicted himself with long-continued fastings and prayers, in which he continually supplicated God for the church, and for the king and realm of England, until the king contrived to drive him thence, through the instrumentality of the Cistertian order, who had assembled, each from his own country, to hold a general chapter. But before his departure thence he had a revelation from heaven, that he should return to his own church with renown, and then depart to the Lord with the palm of martyrdom. Unwilling, however, that his presence should occasion any damage to the inmates of Pontigny, or, indeed, to any other person whatever, he departed of his own free will, and betook himself to Louis the king of the French, by whom he was reverently received, and who most kindly supplied him with all he required, until peace should be restored. The kings had several interviews—first, at Montmirel, and next, at Montmartre—to discuss the terms of peace, which the king of France endeavoured to bring about between the king of England and the archbishop. But because the latter would not consent to pass over in silence the honour due to God and to his order, they departed from each other without being reconciled. Shortly after this the bishops, and prelates, and nobles, were summoned to meet at London, in order that one and all might appeal against the mandates of the archbishop and pope Alexander. The monks of Canterbury were cited for the same purpose; but by God's mercy it so came to pass that no appeal was made by them. It was arranged, moreover, that they should abjure their obedience to pope Alexander, and that all England should be involved in this schism. Taking pity upon this desolation of the church of England, William, archbishop of Sens, (by the permission of the king of the French,) went to the apostolic see, and obtained from the church of Rome that the king of England should be placed under anathema, and the kingdom under interdict, without any power of appeal, unless peace were restored to the church of Canterbury.

In the meantime those persons who were hostile to the peace of the church had planned that Roger, archbishop of York,—even within the province of Canterbury, and after prohibition, violating thereby the dignity of the church of Canterbury, and its ancient customs,—should presume to crown Henry, the king's son; while the suffragans looked on, and entered no protest for the rights of the church of Canterbury. Thus, while injuries were multiplied, and Christ's patience was being more and more abused by these perverse men, who grew worse and worse, a vengeance manifold, and certain, and speedy, was about to overtake the king and his

adherents. The day was now at hand beyond which the sentence could be delayed no longer. Under the pressure of this canonical severity, the king at length yielded his consent that the church of England should enjoy peace. And thus the king came rejoicing to congratulate the archbishop, and spoke with him as lightly as if there had been no previous heart-burnings; yet he would not give him the kiss of peace. When the king wished to carry the archbishop off with him, in order that the peace into which they had entered might be indisputable, the latter observed, "I should appear to be ungrateful, did I not say farewell to my kind friends." So the archbishop made ready to return into England, and despatched his own messengers, provided with the royal letters, to make the necessary arrangements for his arrival, and provide what was requisite. When they heard this, the principal of his enemies hastened to the sea-coast to meet him; and there, while they were laying snares for him, the archbishop of York was suspended from his episcopal office by the command of pope Alexander. Gislebert, bishop of London, and Josceline, bishop of Salisbury, were involved in the sentence of anathema. This severity, when it became publicly known, tended to exasperate the king's mind yet more powerfully against the arrival of the holy Thomas, and gave to the poisoned tongues of his slanderers a yet additional power of harming him. The champion of Christ was exposed to renewed injuries, and to insults yet more grievous, even beyond measure and number; and he was prohibited by a public decree from passing the precincts of his own church. Any one who looked pleasantly on either him or any of his friends was reckoned a public enemy. But when he came to Canterbury he was received with the kiss of peace, with unspeakable joy, and with a flood of tears by his children, the monks of that church; and there he joyfully celebrated the solemnity of the Lord's nativity. But on the fifth day of the nativity, which was the third day of the week,[1] there arrived four courtiers, who desired to speak with the archbishop, thinking by this to discover the weak points [of the monastery]. These were Reginald Fitz-Urse, Hugh de Morville, William de Traci, and Richard Brito. After a long discussion, they began to employ threats; and at length rising up hastily, they went out into the court-yard; and under the spreading branches of a mulberry-tree, they cast off the garments with which they had covered their breastplates, and, accompanied by those persons whom they had summoned from the province, they returned into the archbishop's palace. Yet he, unmoved by the exhortations, the prayers, and the tears of his followers, remained firm in his place, until the time had arrived for the performance of the evening service in the church; towards which he advanced with a slow and deliberate step, like one who of his own free-will prepares himself for death. Having entered the church, he paused at the threshold; and he asked his attendants of what they were afraid. When the clerks began to fall into disorder, he said, "Depart, ye cowards! Let these blind madmen go on in their career. We command you, in virtue of

[1] Tuesday, the 29th of December, 1170.

your obedience, not to shut the door." While he was thus speaking, behold! the executioners having ransacked the bishop's palace, rushed together through the cloisters; three of whom carried hatchets in their left hands, and one an axe or a two-edged glaive, while all of them brandished drawn swords in their right hands. But after they had rushed through the open door, they separated from each other, Fitz-Urse turning to the left, while the three others took to the right. The archbishop had already ascended a few steps, when Fitz-Urse, as he hurried onwards, asked one whom he met, "Where is the archbishop?" Hearing this, he turned round on the step, and, with a slight motion of the head, he was the first to answer, "Here am I, Reginald. I have conferred many a benefit on you, Reginald; and do you now come to me with arms in your hands?" "You shall soon find that out," was the reply. "Are not you that notorious traitor to the king?" And, laying hold on his pall, he said, "Depart hence;" and he struck the pall with his sword. The archbishop replied, "I am no traitor; nor will I depart, wretched man!" and he plucked the fringe of his pall from out the knight's hand. The other repeated the words, "Flee hence!" The reply was, "I will not flee; here your malice shall be satisfied." At these words the assassin stepped back, as if smitten by a blow. In the meantime the other three assailants had arrived; and they exclaimed, "Now you shall die!" "If," said the archbishop, "you seek my life, I forbid you, under the threat of an anathema, from touching any one of my followers. As for me, I willingly embrace death, provided only that the church obtain liberty and peace at the price of my blood." When he had said these words, he stretched forth his head to the blows of the murderers. Fitz-Urse hastened forward, and with his whole strength he planted a blow upon the extended head; and he cried out, as if in triumph over his conquered enemy, "Strike! strike!" Goaded on by the author of confusion, these butchers, adding wound to wound, dashed out his brains; and one of them, following up the martyr, (who at this time was either in the act of falling, or had already fallen,) struck the pavement with his sword, but the point of the weapon broke off short. They now returned through the cloister, crying out, "Knights of the king, let us go; he is dead!" And then they pillaged whatever they found in the archbishop's residence. See here a wonder. While he was yet alive, and could speak, and stand on his feet, men called him a traitor to the king; but when he was laid low, with his brains dashed out, he was called the holy Thomas, even before the breath had left his body.

This blessed martyr suffered death in the ninth year of his patriarchate, on the fourth of the kalends of January [29th Dec.], being the third day of the week, A.D. 1170, while the monks were singing their vespers. His dead body was removed and placed in the shrine before the altar of Christ. On the morrow it was carried by the monks and deposited in a tomb of marble within the crypt. Now, to speak the truth—that which I saw with my eyes, and handled with my hands—he wore hair-cloth next his skin,

then stamin, over that a black cowl, then the white cowl in which he was consecrated; he also wore his tunic and dalmatic, his chasuble, pall, and mitre. Lower down, he had drawers of sackcloth, and over these others of linen; his socks were of wool, and he had on sandals. If any one (as he ought) desires to know more of this martyr, let him read those books or writers which I have mentioned above, namely, Herbert, John, William, Benedict, and Gervase: and let him not omit the letters of the same saint. Others there are who probably have written respecting him; but even if it be so, they cannot tell all that ought to be known about him.

After his martyrdom the church of Canterbury was vacant for two years and five months. That he is alive in Christ is proved by the miracles which are performed throughout the whole world.

Thomas was succeeded, through God's mercy, by RICHARD, prior of Dover, who was elected by the monks of the church of Canterbury, with the consent of the king and the bishops. From his earliest youth he had been a monk within this church. He was a native of Normandy; and, after having completed his education in the liberal arts, he was placed under the monastic discipline within the church of Canterbury, where he conducted himself with modesty and credit. In process of time he became chaplain to archbishop Theobald; the duties of which office he carefully discharged in conjunction with the blessed Thomas. So beloved did he make himself, through that gentleness of disposition and affability with which he was actually endowed, that he found grace in the eyes of all, excepting only the envious ones, and thus became prior of Dover. Then he was appointed archbishop; in which he experienced—but undeservedly—much trouble. For when, after the termination of the election at London, he came to Canterbury, and every arrangement had been made for his consecration, letters from the young king were produced, which, under an appeal to the apostolic see, prohibited every one from promoting him, or any other individual, to the archiepiscopate, without the permission of the person who wore the crown. Terrified at this, the bishops departed, and Richard, archbishop elect of Canterbury, went to Rome. After various calumnies had been advanced against him by his adversaries, he was consecrated by pope Alexander, and received the pall and the primacy of the whole of England. The pope also sent him back into England, endowed with the privilege of apostolic legate. So archbishop Richard returned home, being primate of the whole of England and legate of the apostolic see; and on his return was honourably received by the convent of the church of Canterbury, the clergy, and the people. On the ensuing day he there consecrated four bishops; namely, Richard of Winchester, Robert of Hereford, Geoffrey of Ely, and John of Chichester. He consecrated also, at various times and places, these following individuals: Reginald of Bath, Adam of St. Asaph, Gerard of Coventry, John of Norwich, Guy of Bangor, Baldwin of Worcester, Waleran of Rochester, Walter of Lincoln, and John of St. Asaph. He blessed also, as abbots, John of

Boxley and Guerric of Faversham. Whilst archbishop Richard was resident abroad, at the king's request, Gilbert, bishop of London, consecrated, in the church of Canterbury, Peter, the bishop elect of St. David's, who made to the archbishop and the church of Canterbury the usual profession. The same archbishop held a memorable council at Westminster, and after an eloquent and weighty sermon he promulgated eighteen chapters. In this council Godfrey, bishop elect of St. Asaph, resigned his bishopric by [surrendering] his ring. Also, for certain causes, he deposed William, abbot of Peterborough, and appointed in his place, by the king's consent, his chancellor, Benedict. When the legate Hugutio, having been summoned by the king, would have come into England and have cited the English bishops and abbots to celebrate a council, Roger, archbishop of York, made haste, and attempted to take his place on the legate's right hand; thinking thereby to prevent the archbishop of Canterbury from occupying his accustomed seat. But the suffragans of the archbishop of Canterbury rushed forward and drove Roger out of the chair; they beat him, tore his robes, and turned him out of the council. The legate was incensed hereat, and withdrew; but archbishop Richard, in his own name, and in that of the whole of his diocese, appealed to the apostolic see—a step which annihilated the other's legatine office. Archbishop Richard, by the king's orders, expelled the secular clerks from the church of the Holy Cross at Waltham, and placed regular clerks therein. Upon the death of Walter, bishop of Rochester, the archbishop took that see into his own hands; and at his mere pleasure he gave the bishopric to a certain clerk of his own, named Galerann, whom he consecrated in the parts beyond the sea. The convent of Canterbury expressing some dissatisfaction hereat, Galerann came to Canterbury at the request of archbishop Richard, and in the presence of the convent, and in the chapter-house, he swore upon the four Gospels that he would hold faith with the church of Canterbury; and then, at Christ's altar, he made the profession which was due, and placed it upon the altar, removing from the same his pastoral staff and mitre.

But in order to prevent this archbishop Richard from rejoicing in his prosperity more than was for his good, the enemy raised up an adversary against him, namely, Roger the elect of St. Augustin's. This man, two years after his election, asked the blessing from the archbishop, but refused to make the profession which was due; whereupon he went to Rome, and received the benediction from pope Alexander; saving, however, as he said and wrote, the dignity of the church of Canterbury: and so, decked in his mitre and ring, he returned to Canterbury. In the first year of his election archbishop Richard restored to the monks of Canterbury all the churches which belonged to their vills, and in the hearing of many persons he confessed that they were theirs by law and gift. But as this act of restitution could not be permanent, in consequence of the slanders of the clerks, he restored and confirmed four churches for the augmentation of alms. These were the church of Munketune, the church of Estrey, the church of Mapeham, with its chapels

and appurtenances, and the church of Einesford, which, in the hearing of many persons, he acknowledged to have been given to the convent of Canterbury by William, the lord of that estate. He also remitted to the convent the offerings which had been usually (but unjustly) made to the archbishop, arising from the vills of the monks.

This archbishop Richard peacefully ruled the church of Canterbury for ten years and eight months; but, falling sick, he took to his bed at Halings, and died. His corpse was removed to Canterbury, and honourably buried on the twelfth of the kalends of March [18th Feb.], in the oratory of the blessed Mary, within Christ Church.

Ten months afterwards, BALDWIN, bishop of Worcester, succeeded him. But how shall I speak of this Baldwin? I intended, and I promised, to speak of the prosperous actions of the kings and archbishops; and then I would tell the reader something of the benefits which they conferred upon the church of Canterbury. But in reviewing the actions of Baldwin, I am unwillingly compelled to speak of, not his good deeds, but of his evil ones. He was born at Exeter, of a mean family, and instructed in secular and sacred learning, and he led an irreproachable life. His good character recommended him to Bartholomew, bishop of Exeter, who made him his archdeacon. Yet, as he looked to higher things than these, he abandoned all the goods of this world, and assumed the garb of the Cistertian order in the monastery of Ford, of which, a few years afterwards, he became the abbot. On the death of Roger, bishop of Worcester, Baldwin was elected to fill that see; and when Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, of happy memory, died, and the widowed church had no pastor, a question having been raised, in the presence of the king, as to who should occupy the place of the deceased, the monks of Canterbury, after having undergone many vexations, nominated to the king that just and good man, Peter, bishop of St. David's. The king gave his consent. The matter, however, was postponed for a season, and they returned to London for the same purpose as before. Without any delay, the bishops, by themselves, elected Baldwin, bishop of Worcester, and the monks of Canterbury retired. The king followed them; and in the chapter-house, on bent knees and with streaming eyes, he entreated the convent to accept the person who had been elected, even by this process; namely, that the election of the bishops should be set aside entirely, and the convent proceed to a new election. The king's petition was granted, and all returned to London; and so the election of the bishops having been quashed, Baldwin was elected by the monks. Messengers were thereupon despatched to the court of Rome; and pope Urban, with the consent of the monks, confirmed the election, and sent the pall to the archbishop elect. So, on his arrival at Canterbury, Baldwin was received by the monks with due honour, and enthroned. Such was the anticipation of peace and quietness from him, that men believed that he would be a worthy follower of the example set by his holy predecessors. He made an eloquent address to the brethren,

in which, among other observations, he spoke thus: "This is my first and chiefest desire, brethren, that we should be one in the Lord, for it is to you that I am indebted for what I am. I am bound to devote myself, body and soul, to your service." But amidst all these bright promises of so much religion and grace, as if it were he who was to have redeemed Israel, he was seduced by the clerks; and beginning his works of sacrilege even at the very sanctuary of the Lord, he plundered Christ Church, Canterbury, of some of those offerings which for long had been usually offered from the vills of the monks. Next, unknown to the monks, he privily despatched some clerks, who invaded the churches which had been assigned for the support of the poor and the fatherless; but while he was planning a more wholesale spoliation, an appeal was lodged against him. Paying no attention to it, he attacked some of the monks' vills, to the astonishment of all. However, certain individuals met at Canterbury, and they so managed matters that the archbishop restored to the monks the goods of which he had pillaged them, and they then withdrew their appeal. The archbishop did, indeed, restore the vills; but as for the churches, he gave them to his clerks, and kept the offerings to himself. In the mean time he sent a messenger to pope Urban, asking that the churches which were now his by gift might be confirmed to him, and that the pope would give his apostolic authority for the erection of a new cathedral, which the clerk, who attended at the court, stated had been commenced by St. Thomas. The envoy succeeded in his application, and then returned; and Baldwin, throwing off the reins, deliberated not only how he could best make himself master of the churches and the offerings of the faithful, but how to overthrow the entire position and peace of the church of Canterbury. When the king heard of this, he was easily induced to agree to it. The bishops, too, gave their sanction; and it was decided either by their promise or their oath, that all these bishops who had monks under them would convert those cathedrals into conventual churches for secular clerks, to whom they should assign the churches and tithes belonging to the monks. When the convent of Canterbury heard of this, it was astonished (and no wonder), and it availed itself of that sole remedy of the oppressed by appealing to the apostolic see. The matter was brought before the court, and pope Urban, with the consent of the brethren, forbade, once, twice, and for the third time, the prosecution of that undertaking, and quashed the brotherhood which had been instituted throughout England. Yet Baldwin, being unwilling to desist, laid the foundations of a building of five hundred feet [in length]; and when the prior and convent appealed, he suspended them, and forbade that the rents then due to them should be paid. He also directed that the gates of the monks should be guarded, and that no one should be permitted to enter; and then he took possession of all the vills belonging to the monks. Urban wrote for the second time to the archbishop, ordering him to restore to the monks everything of which he had deprived them; and he denounced as accursed and polluted the work which had been commenced, and the site, and

suspended all those persons who had celebrated [divine service] there. The archbishop, however, set all at nought, changed his wooden chapel into one of stone, and gave orders that with all speed his clerks should erect residences for themselves there; and then he crossed the sea at Dover. But by the king's intervention he restored the vills to the two monks who had been sent to his majesty; and by his private letters addressed to his ministers he consented to this restitution, upon the understanding that these vills were holden of him, and that a particular account of them should be rendered to him, and not to the convent. At this the monks were astonished, and refused to assent to the entire arrangement; preferring rather to beg for their daily bread, than that the church of Canterbury should be subjected by their means to such miserable bondage. In the mean time pope Urban[1] died, and Gregory, who patronised the archbishop, succeeded to the papacy. He made a grant to the prelates and subordinates of churches, to the effect that all the letters of pope Urban, which had been issued during the three months immediately before his decease, should possess the same validity as if he were still alive. Towards the church of Canterbury he acted with that degree of kindness that, in proportion to her necessities, so he increased her desolation. Rejoiced herewith, Baldwin returned into England, and landed at Dover. Immediately the convent despatched two monks to offer him their greetings upon his arrival from abroad, and to make the profession which was befitting; but before they could reach that place he had sent two messengers to meet them, who denounced them as excommunicate, took their horses from them, and compelled them to return to Canterbury on foot. He also caused the sub-prior, and those who held with him, to be denounced as persons excommunicate throughout the whole province; he deprived the monks of all their possessions outside their gate; and because the gate was closed against such plunderers as these were, the wall of the court was broken through with mattocks, and the court and all the offices stormed. The provisions intended for the use of the convent, the guests, and the sick in the infirmary, were carried away; and the servants were compelled to swear, that if they should see any monk going out, they would either apprehend him or give the alarm. Such of the servants and clerks as were captured in the court, or the churchyard, were beaten and thrust into prison. The monks who were sent on a message to him were carried off, and one of them who was caught in the precinct of the church was bound, hurried away, and put into confinement, where he was so hardly dealt with, that on the third day after his return home he died. All persons who were connected with the monks in any way were pronounced traitors to the king and archbishop. Night and day these monks were so surrounded by a crowd of armed men, that they concluded that they would be put to death either in the church or the cloister; they could neither eat nor sleep in safety; and (to sum up in a few words all the long catalogue of

[1] Pope Urban III. died on the 20th of October, 1187, and was succeeded on the following day by Gregory VIII.; see Jaffé, p. 866.

their evils) from the time of Baldwin's entrance their quiet days were few in number. The monks being thus deprived of their victuals, the church of Canterbury was suspended from [the celebration of] divine service, on account of these numerous and great enormities.

While this was going on pope Gregory died,[1] and was succeeded by Clement; and thereupon there came a change over the archbishop's deliberations. Shortly afterwards he received a letter from pope Clement (adopting the style of Urban), in which it was commanded that the work which had been commenced should be destroyed; that he would restore to the monks the goods of which he had deprived them, and cease from henceforth from annoying them; and those persons who had invaded their coast were excommunicated. Prior Honorius now died at Rome, as did also his companions, the bishop of Ostia, and Ralph, the cardinal, whom pope Clement had resolved upon sending into England to put an end to the dispute. The church of Canterbury was thus left without a friend save God. The convent, though now reduced to the greatest penury, strictly held to its original resolution, always ready to endure slights and threats, the evil words and the evil deeds of wicked men, yea, death itself, or whatever else the malice of men or devils could devise. Immediately they sent four brethren to the coast.

While this was going on, several kings and princes took up the cross to go to Jerusalem, and along with them many bishops; and archbishop Baldwin did the like. But a grave dispute broke out between the king of France on the one side, and the king of England and his sons on the other; and king Henry died,[2] by whose instrumentality the church of Canterbury had endured so many troubles. His son Richard now succeeded him in the realm, whom archbishop Baldwin consecrated and crowned king at Westminster. But in order to avoid the occurrence of any dispute during the coronation respecting the church of Canterbury, it was craftily arranged that the archbishop should restore to the monks their court with its offices, the vills and their rents, together with such liberties as had appertained to them; but he did not restore the churches nor the offerings; and contrary to the usage of the church, he nominated as prior, in the absence of the convent, a certain traitor named Roger. When the monks resisted this, they were once more subjected to damage and insult, and their goods were plundered; whereupon, being summoned into the king's presence, they recounted before many hearers the history of the grievances which had been inflicted upon them; but they were compelled to produce publicly the charters of their church, in order that their rivals, the bishops, might adjudicate thereupon. When the monks would not agree to do this without the assent of the convent, the king started up in a rage, and swore that not one of them should continue in the church. Yet

[1] He died on the 17th of December, 1187, and was succeeded by Clement III. on the 19th of the same month; Jaffé, pp. 869, 870.

[2] July 6th, 1189.

shortly after this the king, attended by the archbishops, bishops, abbots, and many nobles, arrived at Canterbury, where, after many discussions of various kinds, the decision which was concluded was this: that the archbishop should restore to the monks the things which he had carried off; that he should either leave the chapel unserved, or pull it entirely down; that he would remove the houses of the clerks, and that there should be a mutual forgiveness of mutual injuries. Also, Roger was deposed from his dignity as prior. In the mean time, John, the legate, who had been sent into England to restore peace to the church, was lying in secret at Dover; but coming to Canterbury at the invitation of the king, he was honourably received by the monks. Being summoned, however, to attend the meeting about the peace which was to be made, or which had been made, he was unable to have any conference with the monks, save in the utmost secrecy; nor did he know how to give them any advice in such a difficult matter as this was. On the morrow he returned to Dover, not as a legate, but as a private individual, and he very speedily sailed after the king.

Still intent upon the prosecution of his designs, the archbishop went to London; and in order that he might not appear to be idle, he pitched his tents in the open field, and gave orders that a chapel of stone should be erected, and that the clerks should there build for themselves such residences as were fitting. The archbishop consecrated at Lambeth two bishops, Richard of London and William of Ely. At different times and places he consecrated the following bishops: Gilbert of Rochester (to whom he gave that see), William of Llandaff, John of Exeter, William of Worcester, Hugh of Lincoln, Reiner of St. Asaph, William of Hereford, Hugh of Coventry, Geoffrey of Winchester, and Herbert of Salisbury. He gave the benediction also to Dionysius, abbot of Boxley, Algar of Faversham, and John of Camberwell. When he was about to cross the sea, archbishop Baldwin came to Canterbury; and there, in Christ Church, he assumed the staff and scrip. Having bidden his last farewell to the monks and to England, he went abroad, and at length reached Acre. There he made little progress, and his health daily declining, he fell into the sickness of which he died. He governed the church of Canterbury, as we have already stated, for five years and eleven months, and died during the siege of Acre, where he was buried. The vestments of his chapel were conveyed to Canterbury. He had left in the church of Canterbury one chasuble adorned with gold, a dalmatic and tunicle interwoven with gold, and two copes.

I have made these few remarks as to the proceedings of archbishop Baldwin, passing rapidly over his evil deeds rather than enlarging upon them, as I might have done. But if any one desires to know more about this man, let him look into the writings of that Gervase,[1] whom we have already mentioned, and there he will find what he looks for.

[1] Gervase here alludes to his other works, the "Imaginationes de discordiis inter monachos Cantuarienses et Baldewinum archiepiscopum," in which the whole series of this dispute is unfolded, and in which are embodied many documents connected therewith.

After his decease the church of Canterbury was vacant for two years and seven months; during which interval pope Clement[1] died, and was succeeded by Celestine [III.], by whose orders the chapel of Hakinton was entirely destroyed, and all Baldwin's proceedings connected therewith were condemned.

HUBERT, bishop of Salisbury, was a marked man of the times, and when at Acre had been highly esteemed by all; and so well skilled was he in military affairs as to secure the admiration of even Richard himself. He was tall of stature, prudent in counsel, far-sighted in deliberation, though not eloquent in speech. He had, in a measure, governed the realm in conjunction with Ralph de Glanville, whom he chiefly influenced by his recommendations. Thus intent upon the management of political business, he gave heed to the things of this world rather than those of the next, and well knew all the laws of the realm. During the time when the convent of the church of Canterbury was undergoing oppression at the hands of Baldwin, he appeared to love it from his heart. He was made dean of York; and afterwards being called to the church of Salisbury, he was consecrated its bishop. Accompanying king Richard and archbishop Baldwin, and the countless multitude of nobles who went abroad with them, he buried archbishop B[aldwin], after his death at Acre. On the taking of that city, the expedition broke up without having accomplished the object for which it was commenced. The king of England was imprisoned in Germany, and the whole of England was grievously oppressed for the king's redemption. When king Richard was in this very close imprisonment, he despatched this bishop into England, for the transaction of his own business as well as that of the realm; and he managed all with such magnificence, eloquence, and industry, as well with reference to the monks of Canterbury (to whom he addressed himself in the first instance) as to the other churches, and the people at large, expressing so effectually the urgency of the king's wants, that all the disturbance which had arisen in England was speedily quieted, and the king was delivered from his distresses within the space of a single year. But even before his return into England, he wrote to the convent of Canterbury in favour of the bishop of Salisbury, requesting that they would elect him as their father and pastor. Rejoiced hereat, they utterly cast aside all the many applications made by several influential persons in favour of other candidates; and having invoked the grace of the Holy Spirit, they, in the chapter-house of Canterbury, elected Hubert, bishop of Salisbury; and on the morrow they presented him as their choice to all the bishops of England who were assembled at London. Their proxy herein was prior Geoffrey. Having despatched messengers to the [papal] court, pope Celestine confirmed his election, sent him his pall, appointed him his legate in England, and established his primacy. When the archbishop came to Canterbury, he was received by the convent with the honour which was his due, and was enthroned. On his accession, it seemed as if the church of Canterbury was to enjoy peace. The archbishop of York having

[1] In February, 1191; see Jaffé, p. 886.

given directions that his cross should be carried before him in the presence of this Hubert, during a meeting of the bishops which was being held at London, he was forthwith driven out by the bishops; he hid his cross, and so departed.

Delivered from his long imprisonment, king Richard now returned into England, and was honourably received by the convent of Canterbury. By common consent he was crowned at Winchester, by Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury. So great was the unity, so strong the affection, which existed between the king and the archbishop, and so tender the regard of each of them to the convent, that the same will and the same mind bound them by one common bond of union. The old enemy saw this, and it grieved him; and, at the instigation of the clerks, the archbishop began to desire to finish the chapel at Lambeth, which had been commenced by his predecessor Baldwin, to cripple the church of Canterbury. That he might the more easily reconcile the monks to this measure, he commanded that his own orchard, which was close to the church, should be cut down; by this measure adding considerably to the precincts of the church. Moreover he replaced monks within the church of Coventry, whom Hugh, bishop of Coventry, had expelled. He made application to the convent, first by his messengers, and afterwards in person, respecting the completion of the church at Lambeth; astonished at which, they threw themselves before his feet, and entreated him with tears and lamentations to desist from this new project. This was frequently repeated at Canterbury; and at length, by the assent of both parties, the matter was referred to pope Innocent [III.], who had succeeded Celestine. Perceiving that, if this dispute proceeded further, it would grow up to be a continual harvest of ills and cares to the church of Canterbury, he entered into counsel with the brethren, and pronounced sentence of condemnation upon this chapel at Lambeth, and gave the archbishop and the bishops orders in writing for its destruction. Moved no little herewith, the archbishop personally, and by the agency of others, endeavoured to induce the convent to agree to a second reference to our lord the pope; striving even by this means to delay the destruction of the chapel. He urged that he had been thoroughly circumvented in the sentence which had been pronounced. The convent refused to agree to this; whereupon they received threatening letters from the king, sent to them from the governor of England, and they were despoiled of their possessions. Moreover, the king wrote to the pope on behalf of the archbishop; so did the bishops, and (worse than all the rest) so did the abbots of the Cistertian order. Even the other abbots did not entirely keep silence. Shortly after this, however, the monks of Canterbury recovered back their own possessions from the archbishop, that he might not be accused in the [papal] court of having invaded their property; but immediately afterwards a proclamation was made throughout every county in England (and this by the king's directions), that no man should lend any gold or silver to the monks of Canterbury. Next they were despoiled of their possessions, and had nothing either of their

own or of another man's. The king ordered, by his letters, that the treasury of the church should be surveyed by his own agents, and the clerks of the archbishop; that the account should be recorded in writing, and then kept safe under three keys, of which one should be in the possession of the king, the second in that of the archbishop, and the third in the hands of the convent. According to this precedent, it was resolved to deal with all those other episcopal churches in which were monks. Yet nothing was done in this matter for the survey of the treasure, that the monks of Canterbury might not give a bad example to the rest.

In the mean time the cause was progressing in the court of Rome, where a second sentence of condemnation was pronounced against the chapel; which was now levelled with the ground, and no trace of which was left behind. Yet the monks were plundered of their vills on three or four occasions.

Not long after this, king Richard was shot with a cross-bow bolt, and died while under surgical treatment;[1] whereupon the monks of Canterbury were restored by G[eoffrey] Fitz Peter. John, the brother of king Richard, came into England, and was crowned at Westminster by Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, who became the king's chancellor, and something very like the ruler of the kingdom. The archbishop recovered the lordship of the castle of Rochester, and the homage of the earl of Clare for the castle of Tunbridge, and some other things of which the church of Canterbury had been deprived; and now that the archbishop was, in appearance and reality, the sole master, he renewed the dispute about the erection of the chapel, and the monks made a demand for everything which had been taken away from them. This suit was protracted between them by various allegations for a year; and at last judgment was given by the judges to the effect that, in consequence of the ambiguity of the wording of the mandate, the matter should be referred back to our lord the pope: whereupon, by the common consent of all (a wise arrangement), the archbishop, the bishops and abbots, and the judges of the cause, came to Canterbury, where for three days the subject was discussed with a view to the establishment of peace. Yet all went so much amiss that some of the abbots lost hope and went away; but the archbishop alone, having invoked the grace of the Holy Spirit, went into the chapter-house once and again; and addressing the chapter in a discourse which was rather pleasant than eloquent, he so far succeeded, by God's grace, in calming their spirit and comforting their hearts, that he won them over to agree with him that the whole cause should be compromised by a reference to arbitrators. No man, no tribulation, had hitherto succeeded in bringing this about. A compromise having been drawn up by each side, reduced to writing and sealed, the arbitration was pronounced a few days afterwards, and confirmed by the seals of both parties, and then confirmed by the threat of an anathema from our lord the pope. The archbishop then held a council at Westminster, where, after a decent sermon had been delivered, he pronounced the heads of

[1] April 6th, 1199.

the causes; after sundry discussions he promulgated the heads of the articles agreed upon; and the day after, he consecrated two bishops, namely, Giles of Hereford, and John of Norwich. At several times and places he consecrated Henry bishop of Exeter, Henry of Llandaff, Henry of Worcester, Alan of Bangor, Robert of Bangor, Savary of Bath, John of Worcester, Herbert of Salisbury, Eustace of Ely, Geoffrey of Coventry, William of London, Geoffrey of St. David's, and Simon of Chichester; from all of whom he received the professions which were due. Malger, also, bishop of Worcester, who was consecrated by pope Innocent, on his return into England, made to archbishop Hubert the requisite profession. He also gave his benediction to William, abbot of Langton, and afterwards to Richard, and to Hugh of St. Radegund's; and he crowned king John and queen Isabella at London. He crowned them also again at Canterbury during the solemnity of Easter, and he provided out of his own resources the expenses which were necessary on such a grand occasion.

The old enemy envied him his reputation, and sowed the seeds of a private quarrel between him and the king, who removed him from his chancellorship, deprived him of his castles, and took from his brother the extensive estates which belonged to him. But ere long the archbishop's admirable tact restored him again to the king's favour. He was so hospitable, so liberal, so bountiful in providing for the poor and the wayfarer, that his income seemed common property. He was a wonderful builder of large and splendid edifices. In the conducting of the divine office he was devout, and of such incomparable magnificence that ill-minded men thought him proud. He gave such care to the recovery of what had been alienated or lost that he might have been called avaricious; for he regained Saltwood, Heath, the castle of Rochester, the fee of Geoffrey de Ros (the service, namely, of five knights), the homage of the earl of Clare from Tunbridge castle, and other matters which had long been lost. So heartily did he love what was religious and honourable, that when he was visiting those churches throughout England which belonged to his jurisdiction, he praised the good conduct and honest manners of the monks of Canterbury, even at the time when he seemed most devoted to the chapel at Lambeth. But since there is no man who is perfect in every respect, nor can anything be done by any one so well but what it may be perverted by those who chose to give it an evil interpretation, so he afforded too ready a hearing to slanderers; thinking possibly that what they spoke through malice or envy was dictated by love—a proceeding which at times offended his best friends. There was one remarkable and great token of his truthfulness, however, and it was this, that he attached to his service such persons as he discovered to be truthful in deed and word. Like Solomon, the treacherous lips, and the lying tongue, and the deceitful mouth, did he hate.[1]

The archbishop prudently quashed the controversy which Gelard, the archdeacon of St. David's, had originated against him to bring him into hatred and disrepute, intending to deprive the archbishop

[1] See Prov. viii. 13.

of the subjection due to the see of Canterbury from himself (for he aimed at becoming archbishop of St. David's) and seven other bishops; and kneeling at the archbishop's feet, he humbly besought pardon, and offered to do satisfaction for such wicked presumption, and resigned his archdeaconry to the archbishop. Some time after this, the archbishop gave this same G[elard] a church worth twenty-five marks, and he who had formerly been his bitter enemy now became one of the archbishop's seven clerks; and as this person had declared in the court of Rome that he was the elect of the church of St. David's, the archbishop quashed this election, and caused another person to be canonically appointed. Let others say what they will of the proceeding of this Hubert, I consider this to be his greatest exploit, that he retained seven bishops in subjection to the church of Canterbury, and crushed the crafty rebellion of this Gelard. Moreover, the archbishop became such a fast friend to the king, that in the estimation of all he was regarded as the ruler of England. Our lord the pope and the court of Rome held him in the highest esteem, and sent him such privileges as he requested, and also some precious gifts. He was always intent upon good works; and not only did he erect anew certain splendid edifices, and thoroughly repair others within the court of Canterbury, but he did the like in regard to his manors. He also loved the convent of the church of Canterbury with the greatest affection; so that even after that great dispute which had been carried on respecting the church of Lambeth, there existed between them the greatest affection, as if God's grace had made them to be of one heart and one mind.

Archbishop Hubert being exceedingly desirous of excelling in good works, finishing what had already been begun, and then beginning others on a larger scale, came to Canterbury, that he might see the buildings and the convent; where, upon the festival of the apostles Peter and Paul [29th June], he splendidly and devoutly celebrated the greater mass in the convent; and eight days afterwards [6th July] he entered the chapter, and affectionately addressing the convent, he spoke as follows, among other words of the like import: "I would have you, dearly beloved, carefully to search out what is wrong among you, and apply thereto the fitting amendment; for when it shall please God, I must die, but you, who cannot[1] die, should devote all your endeavours to promote the honour and usefulness of your church. If I have offended any of you in any respect, I ask your forgiveness; and such as have offended me, I heartily forgive. And I would have you know, dearly beloved, that I am more sorrowful for your troubles than for my own." When the brethren of the church thanked him for the kindnesses which he had done for them, and were grieved at his departure, "I will speedily return to you," said he, "and then I will pay you a visit which shall be longer than usual." And so, having given his blessing to the convent, he bade them adieu, while they were wet with tears, and so departed. On the morrow he went to the vill called Tenham, on the eighth of the

[1] That is, in their corporate capacity.

ides of July [8th July], where on the third day afterwards he was unexpectedly attacked with a very severe illness, and reduced to the greatest extremity of danger. Having summoned G[ilbert de Glanville], bishop of Rochester, and G[alfrid], prior of Canterbury, and others his faithful monks, clerks, and laymen, with much precision he caused his will to be executed and written; from which it can be easily seen how wisely, and with what clearness of memory, and with what love to the church of Canterbury, it was drawn up. Then having received the viaticum with the greatest devotion, and the other sacraments which appertain to one in his condition, he died upon the third of the ides of July [13th July]. His body having been conveyed to Canterbury, was met by the convent with much respect, but also with much sorrow; and the due solemnities having been performed, on the morrow he was consigned to the grave with the utmost veneration, and with many tears and lamentations, on the second of the ides of July, being the fifth day of the week [Thursday, 14th July, 1205]. He presided over the church of Canterbury for eleven years, eight months, and twelve days. How prophetical were the words which he uttered when he was last in the chapter-house, was proved by their issue. He gave to the church of Canterbury these ornaments. He granted and confirmed to the precentor the church of Halegest, for the purpose of amending the books of the church. Also he gave to the same church of Canterbury two palls interwoven with gold, three chasubles, three copes, three dalmatics, three tunicles, three albes, three stoles with maniples, two amices, a golden chalice, and two cruets of crystal. He also gave a portable altar made of calcedony stone, a cross, a portion of the Lord's cross, a girdle, and a comb of ivory, six mitres, and three pairs of gloves, all of which were beautifully adorned with jewels and gold. Also he gave mitres and gloves without gold, candlesticks and cruets, and a censer of silver, and basons of silver gilt, two cloths of silk woven with gold, three pins of gold, a silken napkin, a knife of jasper, and another of horn, a vessel of crystal containing balsam, a cup of gold and another of silver gilt, three silver saucers for chrism, four golden rings set with precious stones, a good carpet, a bible, containing the old and new testaments, a psalter, glossed, four chests, one cushion, and three horses. He also gave to the church an excellent chapel,[1] which in his testament he styled his best; but on the condition that the convent should spend three hundred marks for his soul. But this king John took away from the church.

[1] In the language of the period a chapel means whatever was required for the performance of divine service.

END OF GERVASE.

ROBERT OF GLOUCESTER'S CHRONICLE.

ROBERT OF GLOUCESTER'S CHRONICLE.

Henry was made king after his father John,
Upon the day of St. Simon and St. Jude [28th Oct.], at Gloucester anon.
Nine years old he was then, and in ward he was there,
And they were unwilling that his crowning longer delayed were.
There was the legate of Rome, and the bishop of Winchester,
The bishop of Chester, and of Bath, and the bishop of Worcester,
And the earl William the Marshal, and the earl of Ferrars,
And the earl of Pembroke, and the earl of Storgoil that was so fierce.
These crowned the young king, when he found was
At the king's home at Gloucester; and so with a glad pace
To the abbey church they bore him, that of St. Peter is,
And offered him, as for their king, to the high altar truly.
The other earls and barons with Lewis then yet were,
As they had assuredly promised him; therefore they were not there.
Then began there in this land a new disturbance,
For men better loved their natural lord than Lewis of France.
Through the counsel of holy church, they yet to undo thought
The promise which they had made him when they him hither brought;
Therefore the legate Galo, and the barons of this land,
A counsel made at Martinmas [11th Nov.], at Bristol, I understand.
The legate there absolved high and low also
Of the homage which they had done to Lewis.
He also made seven bishops (for no more there were),
And earls, and barons, and knights there to swear
Firm oaths to the young king that truth they would him bear;
And he cursed all of England who against him were.
Many in their bare flesh assumed the cross fast,
To live for him, or to die, Lewis out to cast.
The high men of England, who with Lewis were,
For the sake of kindred, their hearts to king Henry bore.
So that towards summer they began to arise fast.
And on the eve of the Trinity they met them at the last,
On St. Dunstan's-day,[1] at Lincoln, in truth;
And fought there a battle, as is well known.
And so it was that the English who were with Lewis
Toward king Henry and his people turned their hearts.
And when it came to the conflict, they fought faintly,
And were taken by their own friends, and yielded themselves easily.
Thus was the earl of Winchester, sir Saer de Quincy,
Taken · and of Hereford the earl sir Henry;

[1] May 19th, 1217.

And sir Robert Fitz-Walter, and many other also;
And many was the good man who was there done to death:
For the young earl of Perches the death there took,
Who was considered the best young knight of Christendom:
He was then only thirty years old; the earl Marshal slew him;
When two strong men meet together it is somewhat tough [work]
When Lewis heard tell that his men were defeated,
He betook himself to London; and held himself fast there,
Succour from beyond the sea to wait for in that place.
This was in the year of grace twelve hundred and seventeen.
So that a great army from France put themselves on the sea,
About one hundred ships full; but they returned not home again.
For sir Richard Fitz le Roi, the son of king John,
And sir Hubert de Boru, and other knights many a one,
And the Cinque Ports, with scarcely eighteen ships,
Gave them battle on the sea; that was soon seen.
For sir Eustace le Moine was there to death done,
And many others of France; and there were taken also
Ten great lords also, and many others;
So that they were all either captured, or slain, or drowned.
To the castle of Dover they led the prisoners.
Then it might be said that the French power was overcome.
Then Lewis thought that his army must needs fail,
And the English were ready to assail him at London;
So that people spoke of agreement to the nobility
Who had first brought him here, on account of king John's tyranny;
And the king gave ten thousand marks for his mischance,
And he, like one in good love, went home to France.
Sir Richard Fitz le Roi, of whom we spoke before,
Was a very gentle man, though he were base born;
For the daughter of the earl of Warren was his good mother,
And his father was king John, who begat him "a porchas."
Sir Morice of Berkley wedded then by chance
His daughter, and begat on her the knight sir Thomas.
Then this land, through God's grace, to good peace was brought,
For to have the old laws the high men turned their thought.
Twelve hundred in the year of grace it was and eighteen,
That with the young king they spoke, that was seen;
For to have, as we said before, the good old law.
The king made his charter, and granted it well gladly,
The good laws of forest, and the others which formerly were;
The legate and the archbishop cursed then and there,
And all the bishops of the land, all that were against them.
The legate, when it was sealed, went forth over the sea,
And Pandulf came in his stead; and from year to year
All who were against the charter were accursed throughout the land.
Twelve hundred is the year of grace and nineteen, I understand.
The eire of justice went about in the land;
Sir Hubert de Burgh was highest justice of all the rout,
And there these good laws they published all about.
The old queen Isabel, the mother of king Henry,

Let herself be married to the earl of March that year;
And William Marshal died then, who shall be long lamented,
And at the New Temple was buried in London.
Thereafter at Westminster, as the barons provided,
They crowned the king rightly on Whitsunday [17th May];
It was in the year of grace twelve hundred and twenty years,
And about the fourth year since he first bore crown.
The new work at Westminster the king began then anon,
After his coronation, and laid the first stone.
The king went from thence to Canterbury, and the high men also,
To take up the body of St. Thomas, and place it in a shrine;
Before this he had lain in the earth enshrined fifty years.
Of England and of France so many people there came there,
That all the neighbourhood could scarce contain them;
Therefore they took him up privately by night.
The next year afterwards, as in the year of grace
Twelve hundred and two-and-twenty, in a fair place
Of the noble minster of Salisbury, they laid the first stone:
There is no fairer work in all Christendom.
There was Pandulf the legate, and as the highest of all,
He laid the five first stones: the first for the pope;
The second for the young king; the third (as people say)
For the good earl of Salisbury, William le Longespei;
The fourth for the countess; the fifth he laid there
For the bishop of Salisbury; and he laid no more.
The next year after was Richard of Clare born,
Who was the earl of Gloucester after his father who was before.
The younger, William le Marshal, who was earl Marshal,
Married the king's sister, as God gave permission,
In the year of grace twelve hundred and four-and-twenty thereto.
Afterwards sir Simon de Montford married her also.
Fawkes de Breute (who in England was long
With king John, and had received from him Bedford)
He stored the castle that year completely with everything,
And placed therein many people to hold it against the king.
The king and the high men of the land, with strength and with art.
Besieged the castle a long time before they could win it;
They took it then with strength, therefore, as right was,
Fourscore good knights they hung, alas!
And sir Fawkes' brother, sir William de Breute,
On a gibbet they were hanged for a greater disgrace,
Upon the day of St. Mary, in harvest [8th. Sept.], that pity it was to see,
And so they might learn traitors to be.
Sir Fawkes, who flew about wide, began to flee;
At the last he was found in the church of Coventry.
The church saved his life; but, very vilely,
He forsook the king's land, and departed to his own country.
Then was the king quit, as he thought, of all his enemies.
Of good estate to the land then spoke he anon;
For the good old laws, of which we have spoken,

He confirmed speedily them, that men should not break them ;
And made thereof charters (as I understand)
Of the forest, and another of franchise of the land,
And sealed them both ; and the archbishop there
And the other bishops accursed all who were against them.
It was the twelve hundredth year of grace and five-and-twenty there.
Therefore the men of this land great ransom to him bore,
The fiftieth penny of their goods, and the black monks, truly,
Under all two thousand marks gave him for all this,
And the Jews five thousand marks ; it was fast confirmed :
And yet, as we shall hear, a little while it lasted.
King Lewis of France, and William le Longespei
The elder died then, both in one year.
And after king Lewis came his holy son Lewis,
And after him came his son William, who was so wise.
The good archbishop Stephen brought his life to an end
In the twelve hundredth year of grace and twenty and nine,
And master Richard le Grant is in his see placed,
And went away to Rome, there to be consecrated.
The king went to Bretaine with a great host this year,
For to win back the things which his father had lost before ;
But he turned home again in the first year,
And left the earl Marshal and the earl of Chester there,
For to win his rights, for he himself won little.
In Bretaine died then Gilbert, the noble man,
Earl of Gloucester, and Richard, his young son, was then
In the king's wardship ; for he was of eight years, and no more ;
And to Sir Peris de Roches, bishop of Winchester,
The king gave the ward of him and of the earldom of Gloucester.
Richard, earl of Cornwall, the next year after this.
In the twelve hundredth year of grace and one-and-thirty, truly,
Married the countess Isabel, who was the child's mother.
William, the earl Marshal, died that year, alas !
At London he was buried ; and Richard his brother
Took the inheritance, for he had heir no other.
The king received him kindly, and the earldom of Pembroke
And all his other inheritance very kindly delivered to him.
Ralph, the noble earl of Chester, died there also,
In the twelve hundredth year of grace and thirty and two.
Sir Hubert de Boru, earl of Kent, the noble justice,
Who, like the king, had power in all wise,
Accused was to the king of many a wicked undertaking ;
So that he was in prison in the castle of the Vice,[1]
And was delivered to four earls, to be kept without fail ;
The earl of Warren, and Richard, earl of Cornwall,
And Richard the Marshal, and John, the earl of Chester ;
And so they found four knights, each of them one,
To guard him in prison : and yet for all this
He escaped to the church, as he thought was the best plan.

1 Devizes.

By force he was drawn out, and then to the castle
Of Storgoil he was led, and guarded there well.
That he was out of the church taken, the clergy complained loudly,
So that he was through the pope delivered at the last.
Sir Stephen of Segrave was made then high justice,
In the stead of sir Hubert de Boru, to govern the land well.
Then arose there a great dispute and a strong throughout all,
Between our king Henry and Richard the Marshal,
And sir Gilbert Basset and sir Richard Stiward also;
Because sir Hubert de Boru, and the bishop also
Of Winchester, sir Peris de Roches, and because the king (as men said)
Did, through his council, many a wicked deed.
In the twelve hundredth year of grace and thirty and three,
Against these three lords the king began to be ill disposed.
He destroyed their lands entirely, and did them evil enough;
But the earl Richard the Marshal suffered patiently,
And fairly sent a message to the king that he should him withdraw,
By men of religion; but all was not worth one haw.
When there was no other council he went to Wales,
And carried himself there fair enough, and little did amiss;
For the king's lands there he might have all destroyed,
But for what he did his followers were sore annoyed.
But as for sir Gilbert Basset, and sir Richard Syward,
They destroyed these fast enough; and then afterwards
The king's councillors' lands they destroyed, with their retinue;
But the bishop of Winchester, and the earl of Cornwall,
And, namely, the bishops; for sir Richard Syward fast
Burnt his courts everywhere, and cast down walls.
So that master Edward of Abingdon was
Archbishop of Canterbury, as God sent the case;
In the year of grace twelve hundred and four-and-thirty also,
This holy man St. Edward in such power was placed.
Then Richard the Marshal, who was earl of Pembroke,
Planned a war upon Ireland, in a bad time, alas!
For, through treason of his own men, to battle he went upon a day,
So that he saw the host of his enemies was too large,
And many of his own people began to flee.
"Sir," quoth then this knight, "you must look to yourself.
You have seen that this people is too great which is against you,
And your own is too little. Better is it of a truth
In my opinion to turn again, until God send better speed;
For our power is too little against so many enemies."
"What say you?" quoth the good earl, "when Richard the Marshal
Is armed upon his steed, and thoroughly prepared,
And towards his foes hath turned his belly in the field,—
Should he turn his back to them? He was never so disgraced,
For he did it never, and never shall he, in truth.
From such disgrace may Christ shield Richard the Marshal!"
Like a noble hero in he rushed; he would not long wait;

He slew men to the ground, here and there, fast upon each side.
More prowess there might not of a single person be,
Than one might of Richard the Marshal there see;
They could not kill him, though alone, all who came to him,
Until they slew his steed under him, with some treachery;
And yet they could not overcome him, before one of them smote him by accident,
In about the fundament, where he was unarmed,
And so upwards towards the bowels; and thus was he killed.
Richard, the earl Marshal, was slain through treachery,
At Kildare was he slain, which is in Ireland,
And he was buried at the Friars Preachers, at Kilkenny, truly.
When our king Henry heard tell of his death,
And of the prowess that he did before men could kill him,
And he had understood of his wit and his wisdom,
He considered it a great loss to all his kingdom.
For his death he made lamentations enough; and for his soul
Many almsdeeds did he, and many masses also.
His brother, sir Gilbert, who was heir of the land,
To him with good will he committed the heritage.
Sir Stephen de Segrave, who was his high justice,
He caused to be taken and put in prison; for he knew of this affair,
And consented (as was reported) to the wicked treason.
Also, out of love to him, he caused to be delivered from prison
Sir Hubert de Boru, and others who were in confinement;
And to them who were married he also gave his peace.
And they on St. Swithin's eve, on the first day of June,[1]
To him came at Gloucester (as many men saw),
Unhorsed and barefoot, and ungirt also,
Their arms naked to the elbow, and their heads bare also.
They fell at the king's feet, and cried mercy of him earnestly.
The king could not forbear, but at the last he wept,
And almost began, for pity, to break his vow;
But as the earl of Hereford held him, and sir Geoffrey of Crawcoumbe,
When he could do it, for sorrow he took them in his hand,
And kissed them with a tender heart, and gave them all their land.
Then was the bishop of Winchester and sir Peter Dorival
Removed by St. Edmund entirely out of the court;
And too late (as many men thought) to do much good.
Master Robert Groceteste, this year, was also
Consecrated bishop of Lincoln by St. Edmund at Reading;
St. Edmund then at Canterbury spoused to our king
The earl's daughter of Province, Eleanor, to wife,
In the year of grace twelve hundred and thirty and five.
Sir Henry of Almaine, the earl's son, of Cornwall,
This year was born also, without any fail.
Sir Simon de Montfort, of whom the repute is great,
In the year of grace twelve hundred and seven-and-thirty, truly,

[1] Read July.

Married Eleanor, the king's sister, the widow of earl William,
The countess of Pembroke, a good woman in every way.
This year, the earl of Gloucester, Richard, who was so bold,
Spoused the earl's daughter of Lincoln, who was named Mold.
Then came the legate, sir Otes, to England from Rome,
And made a council at London, to which the bishops came;
And then he went to Oxford to the abbey of Osney,
And there the clerks made him climb somewhat high.
In the year of grace twelve hundred and eight-and-thirty thereto,
To him they went to Osney, to do their necessary affairs,
So that one of his men, upon St. Gregory's day [12th March],
Cast broth upon a clerk, as people report.
Clerks came thick then in great wrath enough,
And assailed the legate, and slew one of his men.
Into the steeple of Osney the legate flew for fear,
His men also fled from the blows, and repented that they had come there.
When thus it came to pass, and the foolish affair had ceased,
The legate asked amendment for the vile trespass;
So that for the manslaughter, and for the other mischief,
The clerks paid a heavy fine to him as a ransom;
So that each clerk in the town gave him, at the last,
As much as he spent for his commons in the week.
The king to sir Simon de Montford gave the earldom
Of Leicester, and to his successors, upon Candlemas-day [2d May], of a truth.
In the king's chamber, at Woodstock at the Well, was
A clerk found wonderfully that year by chance.
He pretended to be insane, so that it was discovered
That it was planned to kill the king when he saw opportunity.
To Coventry he was sent; he was there drawn,
And to the four quarters of England his quarters were sent.
The king's eldest son, sir Edward, was born
Upon St. Botolph's tide [17th June], as God decreed it
(Twelve hundred in the year of grace and nine-and-thirty right),
Who afterwards was our king, and so noble a knight.
Sir Richard, earl of Cornwall, that year went also,
At midsummer, to the Holy Land, and many a good knight also.
After this, in January, Isabella his wife,
Countess of Gloucester, at Berkhampstead, departed this life.
She was buried at Beaulieu, and her heart was buried
At Tewksbury, and her bowels at Missenden, truly.
Then arose there great strife between Henry our king
And the archbishop St. Edmund, and not for a little thing;
For the king, though he was married, and had an heir also,
He drew to other counsel than he was wont to do;
And from the rights of holy church, from the good old law
Which he had in his charter made, he began to withdraw.
St. Edmund piteously often him besought
That he would withdraw of this deed, and better bethink himself;
But it was ever the longer the worse: so that at last

The saint kept himself firm, and excommunicated fast
All those who had brought holy church into such injustice.
And he went across the sea, until the king should better bethink himself;
And he died before he came again, and was buried there also,
In the year of grace twelve hundred and forty years.
Then Richard, earl of Cornwall, to the Holy Land came.
The "Soudan," somewhat afraid, made truce with him;
And all the prisoners and Saracens, who in the heathen land
Had been taken and imprisoned there, he delivered to him.
At the tournament of Wareine,[1] sir Gilbert the Marshal
Defiled was by mishap, and much bruised;
And he died in the year twelve hundred and forty and one
Of grace. And then were buried each of the four brothers;
Namely, the two Williams, and Richard, and Gilbert at the last.
And God would not to any of them an heir of his own blood send,
But among four sisters and heirs the inheritance was then
Divided, and together they came never after.
Eleanor of Brittany died also that year,
Who was Arthur's sister, whom John killed before.
Then was Gilbert born, who was the son of Richard
Of Clare, earl of Gloucester, as God had decreed.
In the year of grace twelve hundred and three-and-forty thereto,
Then was his father first of age, and taken out of ward.
Boniface was made archbishop of Canterbury this same year;
And the earl of Cornwall, of whom we spoke before,
Wedded dame Ssenche,[2] who was the sister of our queen,
And the sister of the queen of France, as God so decreed;
And the earl's daughter of Provence, and her mother the countess,
Brought her hither to this land, and she was here in gladness.
Fulk Basset was afterwards made bishop of London,
And St. Richard [bishop] of Chichester; and Edward, the king's son,
Was born in the middle of January: in the year of grace, truly,
Twelve hundred and four-and-forty all this was done.
Afterwards died the old queen beyond the sea, without fail,
Who was the mother of our king Henry; and the earl of Cornwall,
Her son, began to erect the abbey of Hailes,
In the year of grace twelve hundred and six-and-forty, truly.
The earl's son of Gloucester, Bevis, was afterwards born;
And a new penny was made as a change, and the old continued before.
And an earthquake very strong about Lent also,
In the year of grace twelve hundred and seven-and-forty thereto.
The next year afterwards, the good king Louis
Of France to the Holy Land went, and through Paris
Went barefoot and bareheaded; and the holy way began
With a procession of friars and many good men.
And the next year afterwards, as people can tell,
The strong city of Damietta of the Saracens he won,

[1] Ware; see Dugd. Baron, i. 606.

[2] Sanchia; see M. Paris. 606.

In the twelve hundredth year of grace and forty and nine.
The good Louis is now a saint, and laid in a shrine.
The earl's daughter of Gloucester was born that year,
Margaret; and dame Ssenche, of whom we spoke before,
The next year thereafter, upon St. Stephen's night [26th Dec.],
Twelve hundred and fifty in the year of grace right,
Had a son born, who was named Edmond,
Who married that Margaret afterwards, as God decreed,
And was earl of Cornwall. That year also
There was in the Holy Land a great battle fought
At St. Mary's tide in Lent, and the best knights that there were
Of Christian men, alas! were slain there;
As sir William de Longespey, and the earl of Artois also,
And the king Lewis was taken[1] and put in prison,
Until he was brought out by ransom of his land,
And Damietta yielded again into heathen men's hand.
The king gave to sir Edward, his son, Gascony afterwards also,
In the year of grace twelve hundred and fifty and two.
In this year was the summer so dry and so hot,
That even until this day there has been none hotter.
St. Richard of Chichester, and Robert, also
Groceteste, died the next year after this.
Afterwards our queen of England, and her son, sir Edward,
And the bishop Walter of Worcester, prepared themselves overward,
And to make a marriage betook themselves over the sea;
And sir Edward married, before they returned,
The king's sister of Spain, Eleanor, truly:
And in the year of grace done was all this
Twelve hundred and four-and-fifty. And this noble king
Made sir Edward knight there, nobly through all things.
The next year thereafter the Jews took a child
At Lincoln, named Hue, and on the rood him slew.
The earl Richard of Cornwall then was made king
Of Almaine, and there crowned, nobly through everything,
On Holy Thursday,[2] in Almaine; and made such a noble feast,
That of all which had been known it was the richest and the greatest.
In the year of grace twelve hundred and seven-and-fifty right,
That year he made sir Henry his son knight.
Between our king and Lewelin great war there was then
In Wales, and on each side was done great wo.
And good knights of England, of whom it was great pity,
Slain were there, alas! on the eve of the Trinity [9th June];
Namely, sir Stephen Bausein, and sir Patric de Chaus also,
And many other good men were there to death done.
The greatest misfortune that here befel, in king Henry's time,
In this land, I will begin to tell, if I may.
He had three brothers, who were his mother's sons,
And the king of Almain the fourth, who carried themselves too high;

[1] This occurred April 6th, 1250.

[2] May 17th, 1257.

But sir William de Valence, and sir Aymer also,
The elect of Winchester, and sir Guy de Liscewi also,
Through them, and through the queen, so many French people were brought,
That of the English people they thought right nothing:
And the king let them [do] their will; so that earls were like a king,
And they took the poor men's possessions, and paid nothing.
To any of these brethren, if any person complained,
They said, "If we do you wrong, who shall do you right?"
As if they had said, "We are kings; we may do our will."
And many Englishmen, alas! held with them also;
So that, through God's grace, these earls at the last,
And the bishops of this land, and the barons, advised earnestly
That the native Englishmen of the land would cast them out,
And bring down this land if their power lasted.
Thereof they took counsel, and to the king they sent,
To have pity of the land, and such manners amend;
So that at the last they brought him thereto
To make a purveyance amendment to do.
Made it was at Oxford, that land to settle,
Twelve hundred in the year of grace and fifty and eight,
Right about midsummer; fourteen nights did it last.
The earls and the barons were very steadfast
To amend the land; and the earl of Gloucester,
Sir Richard, and sir Simon, earl of Leicester,
And sir John le Fitz-Geffrey, and other barons enough:
So that at the last the king to them drew,
To remove the Frenchmen to live beyond sea,
By these lands here and there, and not to come again;
And to grant good laws, and the old charter also,
Which so often had been granted before, and so often undone.
Hereof was the charter made, and sealed fast there,
By the king and by other great men who there were.
Then the bishops took lighted tapers in their hand,
And the king himself, and other high men of the land;
The bishops cursed all who there against it were,
And ever after undid the laws, which fixed were there,
With burning tapers: and then at the last,
The king and the others said "Amen," and their tapers down cast,
To confirm the cursing; and then they thought it firm enough;
So that each person afterwards, as in peace, departed to his own.
And the king's three brothers, and the other French there
Fled, and thought it too long that they in this land were.
The new church of Salisbury was hallowed this year,
Through Giles of Bridport, who bishop then was there,
Upon St. Michael's-day [29th Sept.], by the then archbishop Boniface;
There was both the king and queen, and nobles many more.
The queen Ssenche of Almaine died afterwards, truly,
At Berkhamstead, in November, and buried was, and is

In the choir of Hailes on high, in a fair place,
Twelve hundred one-and-sixty as in the year of grace.
All this time was sir Edward beyond sea about,
And frequented tournaments with a noble rout,
With Gascons who were his; and good knights had,
As sir Warin of Bassingburn, who led him about,
And sir Hamon de Strange, and sir Gemes of Audle,
Sir Roger of Clifford, and others; until he came again.
The queen was also beyond the sea, and the king's brothers also.
And they ever thought how they might the purveyance undo;
They procured that the pope absolved, indeed,
Of his oath and of the cursing, the king and all his.
Then was it the king's pleasure, and his counsellors also,
Entirely (if they could) the purveyance to undo.
It was always in the queen's thought, as much as she could think,
With counsel, or with message, or with woman's trick;
And when sir Edward was proved hardy knight and good,
Against the purveyance he also turned all his mood.
When that the earl of Gloucester, Richard, died then,
Then was the baronage in much the greater wo;
The king gathered his power, and sir Edward also,
And the king of Almaine, and many others there too.
In this manner the barons began their running.
A French knight was at Gloucester, [who had been appointed] sheriff by the king,
Sir Maci de Basile, and constable also.
The barons decreed that it was not well done,
But against the purveyance; for they would have no Frenchman.
Another sheriff they made, through common counsel,
A knight of the country, sir William Traci;
And that power clean put out sir Maci.
But sir William held a [meeting of the] shire on a Monday;
Sir Maci came armed (as many men say)
With power sent from the court, armed sufficiently well,
And even as the shire was sitting, to the town's end they advanced.
They alighted with drawn swords, with maces many one,
And with many a hard stroke they cleared their way anon,
Until they came up to the dais; and the sheriff fast
By the top they caught anon, and to the ground him cast,
And dragged him forth vilely, with many a stroke between.
In a foul puddle in the street then they flung him,
And they run upon him with their horses, and defiled him fast,
And behind a squire afterwards vilely cast him,
And to the castle they led him throughout the town,
That pity it was to see, and cast him in prison.
When tidings hereof came to the barons,
They thought it time to amend such villany:
So that sir Roger de Clifford and sir John Giffard assembled
Great power in summer, and came to Gloucester.
They sent to sir Maci, that he should yield the castle
To them and to the barons, or they would take him prisoner.

Sir Maci sent to them again, that the king had before
Delivered this castle to him to keep; he had sworn with true oath
That he would be no traitor, nor ever yield up the castle
But to the king, or his son, so long as he might keep it.
He had within a few people to defend the castle.
Crossbows and engines they employed without,
And shot inwards fast enough. At the last they destroyed
All the outer fortifications, and burnt the bridge,
For it was all of wood; and sir Maci and his people
Fled to the tower on high when they saw this,
And defended themselves fast, as long as they could, truly;
But for want of help many men were destroyed.
With a quarrel one within a squire without slew;
Sir John Giffard for his death made lamentation enough;
And when sir Maci was taken, and they came within,
They took a carpenter, who they said had shot the shot,
And led him up the tower on high, and made him hop to the ground.
He hopped, and was bruised, and died speedily.
And sir Roger de Clifford then had the castle in ward;
And they took sir Maci, and into the March led him,
And sir John Giffard took all his live stock to himself,
And all that he found of his, and namely at Sserston.[1]
A French bishop there was at Hereford then,
Sir Peris de Egeblaunche, to whom they also did wo.
They came to take him, armed many one:
The good man for dread to the church went anon,
And vested himself by the altar; but neither sir Roger nor sir John,
Out of honour to holy church, would within go;
But sir Thomas Turbeville, and other shrews more,
Went up, and with strength made him out go.
When he saw that he might not have the peace of the church,
"Par Crist," he said, "sir Tomas, tu is maveis:
Me int[2] ben te ay fet;" for he had much good
There before done him, and he it evil received.
They dragged him out of the church, who had little pity,
And his property they took fast enough, and to Erdesleye him led,
And him and sir Maci in good ward did there
In the castle of Erdesleye, until it were better.

And so it occurred everywhere: wherever the French were found,
They dragged them vilely about in all the land;
And the king's men robbed them, who were against them;
And the barons also were their enemies, who bore arms against them.

At the beginning there held with the king very few,
But sir Robert Walround and sir John Mauncel;
But afterwards, when sir Edward so well bore arms,
He drew to him many a one, who before were with the barons.
The Marchers he had soon, as sir Roger de Mortimer,
And sir Warin de Basingbourn, and sir Roger de Clifford,
Sir Gemes de Audle, sir Hamond le Strange also,

[1] Probably Sherston, in Wiltshire.

[2] So the original; "maint."

Sir Roger de Leibourn, and many others thereto.
Then was the castle of Gloucester, and the town also,
Through sir Roger de Clifford, in the king's hand put,
And he stored the castle with a sufficient power.
And to his castle of Brumsfield sir John Giffard fast drew,
And stored it well enough, and as he went his forces increased.
To drive and gather thither the property of the neighbours about,
The strongest men whom he found to him fast he drew,
And of the produce of his neighbours they carried home well enough.
Between the castle of Gloucester and Brumsfield also
There was often great bickering, and much harm done;
But the constable of Gloucester, with the king's power,
Held often in the king's name courts far and near,
So that at Quedesle,[1] without the town two miles,
He caused to summon a hundred [court], and there he caught a guile;
For as he held this hundred, with great people and honour,
And Adam of Ardern was his chief supporter,
They called sir John Giffard, who suit should them do,
To come, or he should be fined.
He came by assoyne, for his men in sufficient numbers
Came out of Brumsfield; and being armed, drew towards them,
And assoyned their lord, and slew men to ground.
Glad was he who might flee before the sword bit his neck.
Many flew to the church, and the constable with difficulty
Ran off alive; and many were brought to death.
These wicked bailiffs, who to poor men frequently do great wo,
I would that to such like Giffard's assoyne should frequently come.
A full year and a half thus it went about
That each nobleman did harm to his foes with his rout.
At the last, when winter towards an end drew,
At Candlemass [2d Feb.] each of them took a large host.
And sir Roger de Clifford kept Gloucester also,
And at each end of the town placed a good watch.
Sir John Giffard came one day, and sir John de Balun there,
Riding upon two woolpacks, merchants as if they were,
To the west gate over the bridge, and asked the porters,
To let two woolmongers bring in their merchandise.
Covered they both were with two Welsh mantles.
When the gates were undone they both hopped down
From their horses, and cast their mantles away anon,
And then stood they armed from the head to the toes.
Then were the porters sore afraid at that sight,
And threw them the keys, glad that they might.
There was a sufficient force at the bridge end;
When the gates were undone they began thither to wend,
The son of sir Simon de Montfort, sir Henry the gentle,
And many good body also, as God thither sent them;
Then the barons had the town, and the king had the castle.

[1] Quedgley.

There was often between them great bickering.
Sir Edward was in the east at that time, with great force;
Soon about Lent, towards the March he advanced,
His way he took by Oxford; but the burgesses anon
The gates closed against him of the town each one.
He went and lay outside the town, at the King's Hall,
And went forth on the morrow with his men all.
The gates, when he was gone, were all up raised
Soon, except Smith-gate, but that was not opened.
The clerks had therethrough lost much recreation,
To play towards Beaumont; annoyed they were therefore.
The bailiff they entreated often to grant them their amusement
To play, and undo that gate; but it was in vain.
So that a few wild rustics a foolish device took thereof,
And one day after dinner came there with axes,
And that gate cut down, and dashed it there,
And afterwards through Beaumont to Harewell carried it,
And "Salvenite sancti" fast began to sing,
As is done when a dead man to the pit they will bring.
William the Spicer, and Geffray of Hencsei, who then were
Portreves, and Nicolas of Kingston, who was mayor,
Took some of these clerks, and in prison cast them,
And would not deliver them, though the chancellor entreated fast.
The clerks were then wroth, the burgesses were then bold,
And threatened to take more, and for their wrath cared little.
The first Thursday in Lent the burgesses were very fierce,
And while people were at dinner they raised two banners,
And went forth armed, with all their force there,
To defile all the clerks before they were aware.
As they came opposite All Hallows with this strong force,
At St. Mary's church a clerk rung the common bell;
The clerks up from their meat, and trusted to God's grace,
And said they were disgraced unless they took better care.
They met with the burgesses, and began to shoot fast:
Wounded there was many one; but the burgesses at the last
Began to flee fast, they wearied till they did so;
So that the clerks had the streets soon clear.
The bowyers' shops they broke into, and the bows took each one,
And to the portreve's house they set fire anon,
In the south part of the town; and afterwards the spicery
They broke from end to end, and did all to robbery.
Because the mayor was a vintner, they brake the vintnery,
And all the others in the town; and that was no great exploit.
They cast away the bungs, the wine run abroad;
It was great pity that so much harm was done.
Therefore when the king came and knew of such a trespass,
All the clerks out of the town he drove for that case,
Nor until after Michaelmas they came any more there.
Tell we now of sir Edward, of whom we began before.
Sir Edward, toward Lent, toward the March began to wend,

So that on Ash Wednesday all by the west side
To Gloucester he went with a great force;
And all over the bridge to the west gate he drew,
And assailed the town; but the barons within
Defended themselves so well that he might them not win.
So that from the castle within came a rout
Toward the gate, to help sir Edward without;
But Grimbald Pauncefot against them soon came.
And with force turned them back, and took some of them.
Sir Edward turned into the mead, when he saw no other chance,
And a ship of Tewkesbury, which was the abbot's,
By Severn was going there, soon he took it,
And therein by the water came into the castle.
As soon as he was within upon the town on high,
He raised his banner, which was widely seen.
When the barons saw it, sorry they were each one:
On the town-part the castle they assailed anon;
And they within shot out with the engines fast,
So that between them the bicker long lasted.
Sir John Giffard from Bromesfield thither came soon;
To the castle mead without the town the way soon he took,
And the castle bridge out of the mead he burnt from the end
To the town bridge along, that they should not go out.
Many was the fair strife, and the fair assault also,
That between the castle and the town often was done.
Sir Edward and his forces often were within
Upon the point to rush out, battle to begin;
But the bishop Walter of Worcester often mediated,
And the abbot Reinaud of Gloucester, as God sent them grace,
And prevented the battle; but no accord there was,
But bicker, and slaughter, and shooting often was between them:
So that sir Edward, one day, and his men armed themselves
To go out and do battle, to the great harm of many.
Then saw they out of the tower the earl Robert of Ferrers
At the town's end come, with noble men and fierce,
From the direction of Tewkesbury, armed well each one,
Horse and men, all ready battle to do anon.
When sir Edward saw this, nothing was he glad,
For it was said that he was not so sore afraid of any one.
Unarmed out he went to the barons all still,
And anon made accord, and granted all their will,
And made good enough terms, and swore well to hold them:
When they had all their will the barons were very bold.
The earl Robert of Ferrers, when he came thither,
He was well-nigh mad for wrath that they had made an agreement.
He smote his steed with the spur, as did all his company,
And turned himself for wrath again, as quick as he might hasten.
Each baron also on the morrow departed out of the town,
And of the treaty which they made thought to be sure enough.
When sir Edward and his folk were all masters there
(For the burgesses of the town had let in the barons before),

He caused it to be proclaimed in the town that the burgesses who would
In the castle come to be at peace with him should have good peace.
Gladder were the burgesses never in their lives
Than for this good word; they went thither readily.
When they were all come, the gates were made fast,
And they brought them before sir Edward; then were they sore aghast.
People accused them fast enough, and then at the last
As thieves and traitors in strong prison they were cast;
Without meal and drink there they lay long,
In sorrow and care, and expected when they should be hung.
Sir Roger de Clifford laid hold of the men
Who were porters at the gate when John Giffard came in,
Namely, Hobbekin of Ludlow, and his fellows also,
And caused them on the west gate to be hung both two.
Ever waited these burgesses when they should be forth driven
Priestless, they were very sorry that they were not shriven.
Robert of Caumpdene, who was a husbandman,
Because he was a little of a clerk, he shrove them each one.
At the last, sir Edward of them great ransom
Took, and let them go alive, and destroyed all the town.
But the treaty that he made against the barons before
He entirely disregarded, though the oath were sworn.
To Oxford he went forth, as his father was there,
And his men by the way did much mischief.
The king soon in Lent[1] to Oxford came,
And took his abode with his folk at the Friars Preachers.
About three weeks he began there to abide,
To gather his host which was spread far and wide.
Since St. Fretheswithe was, no king was known
That within the gates of Oxford durst ride or walk.
The king was among the friars, and many of them
Advised him to go in, and, namely, friar John
Of Balsom; and that he might, through God's grace, they said,
In with good devotion go without dread.
The king had thereto good-will, through the friar's advice,
And they masses and prayers fast for him prayed,
So that fasting one day on foot he did this deed;
And on either side, to make him sure, priors conducted him.
And he went to St. Fretheswithe, as no king came before,
Since St. Fretheswithe's days, many hundred years ago.
And well fair his offering to the high altar he bore;
And afterwards often, when he thither came, he offered there.
And so he remained in Oxford, and his counsel took,
Until his son and his people with forces came to him.
When his force was ready, within the Passion[2] [week],
With his host he went forth, and raised his dragon.
His host was great and very long. He went to Northampton,
And with strength took the town (and somewhat with treason).

[1] Ash-Wednesday fell upon March 9th. [2] From 6th April to the 13th.

About St. Ambrose day [4th April] done was all this,
Twelve hundred in the year of grace and four-and-sixty, truly
Sir Simon the young Montfort there they took then,
And sir Osborn Giffard, and others many more.
In strong prison sir Simon they put at Windsor
Until the battle of Lewes, but no longer.
Then went the barons forth, and many others more,
And burnt courts and other things; each man [avenged himself] upon his foes.
Sir John Giffard with his rout was not the last there,
For he burnt [the country] about Oxford, in the Easter week[1] fast.
Court Lincoln, and Berkley, and many courts also,
Were about in the land then set on fire.
The king early in May eastward always advanced,
Towards the barons, with great force enough.
Sir Simon de Montfort, and sir Gilbert,
The young earl of Gloucester, came always after,
And many barons also, as sir John Giffard,
And many a good man, who never returned afterward.
At Lewes the king began with his forces to abide;
The barons remained outside the town beside,
And fair sent into the town their message,
That he would, for God's love, better understand himself,
And grant them good laws, and have pity of his land,
And they would serve him well with foot and with hand.
The king sent them word again, without greeting, thus:
That he cared nothing for this service truly;
And that out of his love and truth he put them each one,
And that he would seek them out, as his assured enemies.
The barons knew no other counsel when they heard this,
But to ask God's grace and await the battle, truly.
They went and deliberated somewhat, up and down,
That they might beware of their foes, and see to the town.
Some advised that they should go in on one heap,
To have taken them unarmed, and some in bed asleep;
The good men said that they would do no such villany,
But abide until they came out armed each one.
They awaited under the bushes, and new knights made;
And armed and attired them, their beads they earnestly prayed.
Sir Simon de Montford counselled them fast,
That they should contain themselves while the battle lasted.
Then came the host rushing fast out of the town;
Many was the good body who was there brought down.
For the Londoners before then a great despite had wrought
To the queen at London: sir Edward thereof thought,
And to revenge his mother, to them fast he drew,
And brought them to the ground, and some he scattered and slew.
When he had the Londoners all brought to ground,
With great joy he turned again, but little joy he found;
For the barons were above, and his part overcame:

[1] April 20th to 27th.

And the king of Almaine was in a mill taken;
For a young knight took him (who just before had been made a knight),
Sir John de Befs named, who was a very good knight,
Who much prowess did that day; and the king yielded himself, in doubt,
To the earl of Gloucester, as the highest of the rout.
And to the Friars Minors, in the town sir Edward flew fast,
And there, as he needs must, yielded himself at the last.
Many a one privately their arms away cast,
And changed them for "herigans;" [1] somewhat they were aghast,
And away flew into the water, and some toward the sea,
And many passed over and came never again.
About four thousand five hundred, it was said,
At the battle were slain; that was a piteous deed.
Sir Philip Bassett, the good knight, worst was to overcome:
He had more than twenty wounds before he was taken.
Sir Simon de Montford, when done was all this,
Forth with him the king kept, as if in ward truly;
And the king of Almaine, and sir Edward also,
In the castle of Wallingford in ward he caused to be placed;
And other men who were taken he caused to bring about
In other castles fast enough, that there was no doubt.
As a tokening of greater wo than yet was come,
Our Lord sent in sight by a wonderful case;
For a star with a lance, which is called Comet,
Arose then in the day before the sun truly,
From St. Margaret's tide [20th July] until Michaelmas [29th Sept.] near.
That each man who saw the star might wonder,
There went from it a gleam that drew towards the north,
Even as it were a lance, red and clear enough.
That star is seldom seen, except it be as a tokening;
And thereafter came much blood-shedding.
They who held with the king, and were not taken prisoners,
Went about here and there, wherever they might best come.
In the castle of Bristol they came at the last,
Almost numbering seven banners, and held themselves there fast,
[2] and sir Warin also,
Of Bassingbourn, and sir John de Muchegros thereto,
Sir Pain de Chaus, and sir Robert Tiptot, truly,
And other more, and their wives, who liked this nothing.
But to protect their bodies, until they saw better,
They kept themselves on the defence to live or to die.
So that the queen espied that it was a weak ward
In the castle of Wallingford, which about her son was,
To Bristol she sent word that the knights might well

[1] It is not easy to conjecture what Hearne means when he renders this word in his Glossary by "dew-claws, spurrs."

[2] There is here a hiatus in Hearne's text, which may in all probability be supplied from the corresponding passage at line 939.

With little strength win him out of that castle;
So that these knights took counsel,
And with three hundred horse to Wallingford they came
On a Friday, armed, right as the sun arose.
The castle they assailed, so that many men were terrified.
Opposite Allhallows Church the first ditch they took,
And broke the outmost wall, and came within,
All that were within the castle knew speedily.
With cross-bow and with other engines they fast against them cast,
And said to them that were without that unless they would depart,
They would gladly send sir Edward out to them,
Bound with a mangonel, to take home with them.
Sir Edward, upon the wall within, came also, and said,
And bade them go home again, or he was a dead man of a truth:
The others went home when they heard this.
When sir Simon de Montfort heard of this deed,
He caused the king of Almaine and sir Edward to be conducted,
And sir Henry, the king's son of Almaine, also,
To the castle of Kenilworth, in better ward to do.
And the king's sister, the countess, sir Simon's wife, was
There with them, and what she could she did for their comfort.
Sir Simon de Montfort had put into his castles
Wardens from beyond the sea, and also in his lands,
As in the castles of Wallingford, of Dover, and of Windsor,
Wardens he made of Frenchmen; who annoyed the land sore.
The earl of Gloucester spoke against this; so that there was
A parliament at London, to amend such a trespass;
So that these two earls accorded were there;
So that the Frenchmen were all clean removed.
At St. Hilary tide [1] this parliament was.
There was the earl of Ferrars brought in hard case,
For he had after the peace wrought robbery.
The king wished in any case that he were put to death.
Sir Simon de Montfort did sufficiently wisely;
For he wished to each party to do right and no wrong.
In the tower of London in prison he put them,
For to save his life and to satisfy the king.
Then was the earl of Gloucester annoyed for many deeds,
That he thus kept prisoners without his counsel,
For so great a man as he was they regarded him too little;
And it seemed to him that there was in sir Simon too great pride;
And it was said that he was afraid that he were taken also
With treason (for he was highest), and put into prison.
Sir John Giffard then first turned against sir Simon,
For he asked for prisoners, who were justly refused;
For he was himself at Lewes soon taken by chance.
But sir William Maltravers, a knight who was with him,
In the battle afterwards took sir Ranaud le Fiz Peris,
And sir Alein de la Souche, who were barons certainly;
But let them go afterwards; and sir Ranaud was there

[1] 22d Jan. A. D. 1265.

In the battle afterwards taken, armed as he was before.
Sir Alein was also taken in the dress of a monk,
In the priory afterwards. At first he was in dread,
And [in exchange] for sir William Maltravers let free to go home:
Sir Simon could not deliver up sir John.
To the forest of Dene sir John went then,
And turned against sir Simon, and procured more besides.
Lewellin, prince of Wales, robbed, with his rout,
The earl's land of Gloucester in Wales about.
Then went the earl from London privily and still,
As if to succour the land against sir Simon's will.
In the forest of Dene together soon they came,
He, and sir John Giffard, and firm counsel took:
To hold against sir Simon firmly they were agreed;
And Boreford and Beghwurththe, the earl gave to sir John,
With him to hold firmly against sir Simon in each case.
Sir Roger also of Mortimer was in his own land,
In the country of Wigmore, and kept himself safe there,
Ready, when he saw the time, his banner to rear.
Seven banners also which were against sir Simon,
In the castle of Bristol held themselves fast there;
Namely, sir Warin of Bassingbourn, a man of great praise,
And sir Robert Tiptoft, and sir John de Mussegros,
And sir Pain de Chawurth, and sir Patrick, his brother,
And the other bannerets, and the knights many other.
The king sent oft his letters that they should deliver
The castle up to sir Simon; and nevertheless they would not:
At the last sir Edward sent his letters to them
To yield up the castle, and that they thence should depart.
Then was among them great sorrow, for they durst no longer abide;
They gave up the castle, and went each on his side.
A certain day was set for them to flee from the land,
And sir Roger also of Mortimer to be disinherited.
Sir Simon de Montford out of ward took
Sir Edward, to solace him; little thanks came to him.
He entrusted him to Henry his son, as his companion,
With him to go about, to follow him up and down;
So that after Easter the king and sir Simon
Went toward the March, to bring their foes down.
Sir Edward, and sir Henry, and sir Humphrey de Bohun,
To Gloucester they went, to strengthen the town;
There they began with their host fourteen nights to abide;
The earl of Gloucester was in the forest beside,
And sir John Giffard also upon a high hill lay,
Which is called Erdland, both night and day:
A great fire he made there, at nights, of wood and spray,
And drew a track thereabout which was wide seen,
And into Gloucester also, so that his foes might see
Where they should find him on that hill high.
Between the earl of Gloucester high men often went
And sir Simon de Montfort, their hearts to amend;

So that they were accorded, on the twelfth day of May
(Though it was little worth), on a Tuesday,
To stand at the discretion of the bishop Walter
Of Worcester, and also of sir Hugh Spencer,
Of sir William de Mounchaisi, of sir John le Fiz John,
Under the care of these four, to bring them at concord.
Then thought sir Simon to be sure, and went toward the March;
But hardly he escaped that his foes did not disgrace him,
That the earl of Gloucester with his force did not take him:
And nevertheless, through God's grace, to Hereford he came.
There he remained with his host to abide a better chance.
The earl of Gloucester was the while in many a wild side,
When he thought he was the further off, often he was the nearer;
And sir John Giffard with him, and sir Roger de Mortimer,
Evil they were all three to find frequently:
And messengers between them and sir Edward often came;
So that there was between them a good device taken,
How sir Edward might best come out of ward.
Sir Simon de Montfort, wise man though he were,
Promised that to sir Edward they would pay great reverence,
To amuse himself up and down, as in company;
So that there was a guile determined on, through God, as I see.
Sir Edward asked sir Simon that he would give him
Leave to race horses outside of the town.
Leave was granted him, God wot to what end;
So that sir Edward outside the town gan wend.
A steed he began to spur for the mastery,
And with him had of knights a fair company;
And then he took another, and weary he made them anon;
And then he took the third, the best of each one,
As it was before determined, to which he should trust:
He spurred it first gently, as if he little liked it.
When he was a little from the folk, with spur he smote it hard
The sides ran with blood in a little space:
Then of steeds a good one and quick they found it.
Forth went this good knight when he was out of hand:
"Lordings," he said, "have now good day,
And greet well my father the king; and I will, if I may,
Both see him speedily, and out of prison take him."
What need of a long tale? He escaped thus,
And to the castle of Wigmore the way soon he took.
There was joy and mirth enough when he came thither,
With the lady of the castle, dame Maud de Mortimer.
Soon was the word sent to her lord sir Roger,
And to the earl also of Gloucester the letters soon came;
So that between them they had a privy parliament,
How that they might best sir Simon bring to the ground.
To the disinherited barons also they sent tiding,
So that each in his own district gathered troops fast,
And to sir Roger they came in the March at the last;
So that sir Edward, and the earl of Gloucester,

And other forces enough, came to Worcester,
And from thence they went, and their war begun
At Gloucester; and that town from sir Simon they won.
Three weeks before midsummer thither they gan wend,
And assailed the town all in the north end,
At St. Oswald's gate; and they within fast
Defended them well enough, the while their power lasted.
Between St. Oswald's gate and the north gate, indeed,
Is a long wall, where the abbot's orchard is,
And within the orchard were no people to defend the town;
Therefore in the assault some went without,
And broke a piece of the wall before they were aware within;
And sir John Giffard the first was who went within.
Then rushed they all in, and put many to death,
And the wardens of the castle escaped with difficulty;
Namely, Grimbald Pauncefot, and his fellows each one,
And the town bridge they drew up, and the gates shut anon.
Sir Edward and his forces within shot fast
Strong engines, and therewith to the castle cast;
And the others defended themselves, and little were aghast.
So that about three weeks the assault between them lasted,
And even they within waited for succour from sir Simon;
For else they must needs yield the tower and the castle.
And when none came to them they yielded up the castle
To sir Edward, by an agreement that they should not bear,
For forty days, arms against him in any place;
And sir Edward gave them life and limb, and yet more grace,
Their arms, and all other things, and their horses each one.
Then Grimbald Pauncefot turned to sir Edward anon,
And was made knight, and bore arms against sir Simon;
But never after was there such good word of him as was before
When sir Edward and the earl Gilbert had their will also,
They went toward the March, more harm to do:
Bridges they broke everywhere; they left no ships
By Wye nor by Severn, but they removed each one
There about, that sir Simon should not pass there,
And, namely, towards Bristol, for thereof was their fear;
For Bristol was all in his hand, the castle and the town.
Sir Simon thought another advice, and was afraid of treason.
To the prince of Wales, Lewellen that was,
He went for more help in his hard case:
And he gave him of footmen a great force, truly;
But of them very few returned to Wales.
Sir Simon de Montfort's son, also named sir Simon,
Was besieging then a castle, as he had long done,
The castle of Pevensey; and his father sent him word,
That he should leave the siege, and towards him wend.
Sir Simon the younger understood this command;
He gathered to himself of good folk a fair host and good,
And the way from Pevensey to his father he took.
On St. Kenenelm's eve [16th July] to Winchester he came.

The people who were in the town made fast the gates,
And kept the town against him: the bicker lasted long;
So that with force sir Simon took the town,
And robbed and slew fast when he within came.
All the Jews of the town he slew each one,
Who were anywhere found, he left alive none,
But after that time, of what he was to do,
Little good befel him; as we shall hear soon.
From thence he went to Oxford; three days was he there:
Fairer people might not be than were there with him.
The Jews he caused to be sought for, to kill each one;
But they could not for anything in the town find one.
From thence to Kenilworth, with his host he went,
And there, as it chanced, alas! his proud heart destroyed him;
For so highly of himself he counted, and of his great might
That he deigned not in the castle to lie by night.
Sir Edward and his army at Worcester then were,
And they had trusty spies, how they them conducted themselves,
So that sir Edward, and the earl of Gloucester also,
And sir Roger de Mortimer, and many good knights besides,
On a Lammas night [1st. Aug.],[1] Saturday night that was,
Out of Worcester went, with right good pace;
To Kenilworth they come in the dawning.
They brought sir Simon and his men ill tidings.
In bed they found him, when they enter the town;
Of soft awakening they took little heed,
To well clothe them they gave them no time.
Of their foes they slew many, and of chief men they took some,
As sir Robert, earl of Oxford; and sir William thereto,
De Mountchalsi, and sir Adam de Neumarch also,
And sir Walter de Colevile, and many another one;
But sir Simon himself, among all his enemies,
Hardly into the castle, a naked man, escaped.
And many a one was taken, and many put to death:
And thus sir Simon the younger was first brought to ground.
But natheless he lost not all his power there for nought,
But he kept a great host, and made ready in all quarters,
Him and all his force, against his father to turn.
Then, indeed, was sir Simon his father at Hereford,
With many good men of England, and also of Wales.
He went his way out of Hereford with a fair host,
And he advanced towards Kenilworth to meet his son,
And it was the purpose of them both their foes to surround,
So to say, on either side, and to destroy them each one;
So that sir Simon the elder came indeed, on the Monday,
To a town beside Worcester, that is called Kemesele.
The Tuesday, to Evesham he went in the morning—
And there he and priests masses sung for himself and his people—
And thought to go northward his son to meet.
But the king would not stir a step until he had dined or eaten;

[1] A. D. 1265.

And sir Simon the younger and his host at Alcestre were,
And would not budge a foot thence before they had dined there.
This to divers doleful was, alas!
For many was the good man thereby that was slain.
Sir Edmund and his force soon came thither riding,
To the north side of the town, battle to abide;
When sir Simon knew of it, and they that were with him,
They bade some to arm themselves, and uprear their banners.
The bishop Walter of Worcester, absolved them all there,
And preached to them, so that they had of death the less fear.
Then straight they took their way against their foes in God's behalf,
And deemed that sir Simon the younger against them would come.
Sir Edward's host, and others also nigh,
He instructed the host right well, and, through God's grace,
He hoped to win that day the mastery of the place;
Then saw he there beside, as he looked about,
The earl of Gloucester's banner, and him with all his rout,
As if to enclose him, on the other side.
"Look," he said, "ready folk and well aware are these,
And better skilled in battle than they knew before.
May God," he said, "have your souls, for your bodies be theirs.
Sir Henry," he said to his son, "thy pride hath done this;
Were thy brother come, we might still hope."
They committed life and soul to God's grace each one,
And into the battle rushed with haste their foes among,
And, like good knights, felled them to the ground anon,
That their foes fled soon, thickly, many a one.
Sir Warin of Blasingbourne, when he saw this,
Began forward to prick, and to shout on high,
"Turn, traitors! turn, and bear in your thoughts,
How vilely at Lewes ye were to ground brought.
Turn again, bethink ye that this power is all ours,
And surely we shall overcome our foes, as if they were nothing!"
Then was the battle fierce on both sides, alas!
But at the end the weaker were conquered,
And sir Simon was slain, and his men struck to the earth:
Greater murder was there never before in so short a time;
For there was first Simon de Montford slain, alas!
And sir Henry, his son, that so gentle a knight was,
And sir Hugh the Dispenser, the noble justice,
And sir Peris de Mountfort, that strong was and wise,
Sir William de Verons, and sir Rauf Basset also,
Sir John de Saint John, sir John Dive thereto,
Sir William Trossel, sir Gileberd of Eisnesfelde,
And many a good man slain in that field.
But among all the rest, the most pitiful thing was this,
That sir Simon, the old man, they dismembered so;
For sir William Mautravers (thanks have he none)
Cut off his feet and hands, and his limbs many a one;
And what most pity was they left, went so far,
That when his privy members they surely cut off,

And his head they smote off, and to Wigemor it sent,
To dame Maud de Mortimer, who right sorely abused it;
And, although they hacked him limb from limb, he bled not, as was said,
And the hard hair cloth was the garment nearest his body:
Such was the murder of Evesham (for battle it was none).
And therewith Jesu Christ was very ill pleased,
As He shewed by tokens both terrible and true;
For as it to Himself befel, when He died on the cross,
There was a great darkness throughout all the world.
Also while the good men at Evesham were slain,
There arose, as in the north-west, a dark storm,
So black, and so sudden, that many were terrified;
And it overcast all the land, so that one might hardly see:
A more fearful storm than it was might not on the earth be.
A few drops of rain exceeding large there fell.
This token happened in this land, where these men they slew;
And for thirty miles from thence, this beheld Robert,
Who first this book made, and was right sorely afraid.
Lordings there were taken at Evesham many a one,
As sir Unfrai de Boun, sir John le Fitz John,
And Simon, his son, de Mountfort, sir Guy,
Sir Baudewine de Wake, sir John de Vescy,
Sir Henry de Hastinges, and verily sir Nicole
De Segrave was then taken, and also sir Peris,
And sir Robert, that were sons to sir Peris de Mountfort;
These, and many more, were taken there in the murder.
But the Welsh footmen, of whom were many there,
At the beginning of the battle began to fly every one,
And came through Teukesburi; and there the men of the town
Struck them all to the ground, that there they lay down
So thickly in the street, that pity it was to see,
And none of them had the grace either to fight or to flee.
When the battle was ended, and the good men slain were,
Sir Simon the younger came to meet his father:
He might as well have continued at his dinner;
As men say, "When I am dead, make me a candle."
And when they told him by the way how the ending was,
He turned again to Kenilworth: he thought the way full long.
He might say, when there he came, "Little have I won.
I may hang up my axe; weakly have I begun."
The king of Almaine, that was his mother's brother,
And sir Renaud le Fitz Peris, and also many another,
That in his prison were, there at Kenilworth,
When he saw no other council, he let them go free,
The sixth day of September, that was then on the Sunday;
He let them go in God's behalf, when he saw no other way.
The king thought to bring the Londoners all to nought,
And they often pitifully his grace besought;
So that about Michaelmas some forty of them came
To him at Windsor, and to his mercy committed themselves.

Where before all the town, the best were chosen each one.
The king bade them be brought in strong prison anon.
They yielded up to the king there the keys of the tower,
So that the tower was then completely brought down.
On the feast of St. Edward the king [13th Oct.] held there anon,
At London, a parliament, and of chief men many a one.
There they gave judgment, that all that did arms bear
Against the king in that war, or opposed to him were,
At Northampton, at Lewes, or at Evesham,
Baron, earl, or knight, burgess or free man,
The burgesses of Northampton, and of London thereto
Should all be disinherited, and their heirs also.
But many of the high men consented to it not at all,
As the king of Almaine, nor the earl Marshal,
Nor sir Philip Basset, nor many another one;
Nor assented to the judgment, but gainsaid it each one.
The countess of Leicester, that sir Simon's wife was,
De Mountfort, and the king's sister, when she saw no other chance,
The castle of Pevensey she yielded up to the king,
At St. Simond's and St. Jude's tide [28th Oct.], without any striving,
Which she had held ever since before Easter;
And when she had clean lost all her happiness,
They banished her out of England, without returning.
Alas! her two brethren, each of whom was king,
And had but that one sister, and would her exile so!
Alas! where was love then, such doom to decree?
Then came from beyond seas, at Allhallows tide [1st Nov.], anon,
The queen with a legate, that was called sir Otebon,
With the pope's power, to do the king's will.
The legate, when come thither, little while was still.
Of the clergy at London, on St. Andrew's feast [30th Nov.],
A council he made; and showed there the pope's command,
What power he him gave; and the clerks anon,
Who held with sir Simon, he grieved many a one;
The bishop of London, and the bishop of Worcester,
And the bishop of Lincoln, and the bishop of Chichester,
Without any mercy, he suspended each one;
So when there was no counsel, they went forth to Rome.
The bishop of Winchester died before they again had come
The others were absolved, else had it been wo,
And came again to England, with joy and bliss enow.
Sir Simon the younger held ever firmly, alas!
The castle of Kenilworth, the while his power lasted.
The knights were disinherited everywhere in the land wide;
Sir Simon bethought himself, it was not good to abide
In the castle too long, lest he should be beset.
The wide country he thought would better suit him.
To the disinherited he went, to an island
That is called Exholm, the better himself to defend.

Sir Edward with his army after him did follow,
And he offered him terms of peace fair enough,
As being kindred by blood, and hostage for him took.
Sir Simon believed him, and forsook his fellows.
Wherefore at the last to London they came;
The king and his knights take counsel concerning him.
So that it was decreed that he should depart out of the land,
And the king from his treasury each year should him send
A certain sum of sterlings, unto his life's end,
The while he should be towards the king dutiful in deeds.
The while they speak thereof, to secure that chance
By his friends privately warned he was
That it was all guile, and that they thought him to cast
In strong prison to remain, the while his life should last.
So that, for dread thereof, he betook himself over sea,
And softly stole away, and never came again.
Sir Robert, earl of Ferrers, that was not as yet taken,
And sir Henry de Hastings, and sir Baldwin de Wake,
And sir John Deivile, and others of them counsel take.
And to the town of Chesterfield, in Derbyshire, they came,
Sir John, earl of Wareine, and sir Henry of Alemaine,
And sir Warin of Basingbourne, went with all their main,
And other knights many a one, towards Chesterfield.
And by Whitsun eve[1] they arrive there in the field.
Sir Baldwin de Wake, and sir Henry de Hastings,
And others were for their amusement going a-hunting.
Sir Gregory of Caldewelle, sir John of Clintone,
Sir Richard de Mandeville, that long shall be remembered,
Sir Richard of Caldewelle; so that there were
Two-and-twenty knights under one spear:
And they hunted after him in that manor to no end,
And unawares they all were brought to shame.
The earl of Ferrers was let blood just then,
And he was exceeding sick with gout and other pain.
When sir John Deivile knew in Chesterfield
That his foes had arrived, without in the field,
With a small company he dashed out of the town:
With a lance he brought a knight at the first onset down;
Yet he broke through the host, and wounded many a one:
And alive and untaken escaped among each one.
When they come within the town, much folk they slew,
And soon to the sick earl of Ferrers they drew,
And seized him as he was let blood, and full of gout,
And to the Tower of London they led him with great rout.
There he lay in prison, as he had done before.
To the king, for him and his, he granted his land there,
Until he or his friends should pay of sterlings
Two and fifty thousand pound, all in one day.
And so he was delivered without land and fee,
God knows on what day it shall acquitted be.

[1] The 15th of May, A.D. 1266.

Sir Henry de Hastings to Kenilworth him drew,
And found there a fair company of good folk enow.
Sir John Deivile, and many another knight,
To woods and to fields kept themselves day and night.
Of the castle of Kenilworth wardens there were,
Sir William de la Cowe, that constable was there,
And sir John de la Warre, master of each one.
They had of stalwart men, with them many a one.
They had well stored the castle on every side,
With corn and flesh, gathered in the country wide.
Sir Henry de Hastings with them was also,
And sir Nicole de Bois, and many good knights thereto.
Master Peris of Radenore, who was, I understand,
The most valiant clerk in all England.
Many was the good man that there also was,
And lads and maidens . . . . . [1]
And they swore that alive the castle they would not yield,
Save to the countess of Leicester, sir Simond's wife.
So well were they furnished with all good store,
And with stalwart men, that they were bold the more.
The king anon at Midsummer [24th June], with strength and engines,
To Kenilworth proceeded, the castle to win;
He swore he would not go thence before he should be within.
So long they sped badly, that they might as well have given in.
Those who were within would not close their gates,
Come in whoso would; open stood they night and day.
Out full oft they sallied, when men came too nigh,
And slew apace on either side, and prisoners took,
And with ransom bought them after. Such life long did last;
With mangonels and engines they each to other cast.
The legate and the archbishop with them also take
Two other bishops, and to Kenilworth they came,
To form accord with the king, and the disinherited also,
And with them of the castle, if it might be so.
But the disinherited would not do according to the king's will,
Nor they of the castle either, nor consent to their decision.
The legate, in his red cope, excommunicated there
Those who in the castle were, and with them yet many more;
All who abetted them, or were of their counsel,
Or consented to them in will or in deed.
They of the castle had of this great indignation;
Copes and other clothes, in mockery they bade make,
And master Philip Porpeis, that was a quaint man,
A clerk, and hardy of deed, and their surgeon,
They made a mock legate, in his mock cope,
In opposition to the counsel of the others, and in contempt of them.
And he stood as a legate upon the castle wall,
And cursed king and legate, and their men all.

[1] This line is defective in the original.

Such game lasted long among them in such strife,
But much good was it not to soul nor to life.
Sir John Deivile and others, that disinherited were,
Seized the isle of Ely, and stoutly kept them there;
And in Cambridgeshire, of other men enough,
Fetched and furnished them, though it were with scorn.
The Jews they also slew, that they might find
Their treasures; nor of their other goods left they aught behind.
The king at St. Bartelemeus-tide [24th Aug.] made, I understand,
At Kenilworth a parliament of great men of the land.
To choose six wise men they determined there:
Three bishops and three barons, the wisest that there were.
And they, when they were sworn, took other six,
With good intentions among them to determine concerning the land,
And of the disinherited; so that by agreement
They chose the bishop of Bathe, Walter Giffard,
And master Nicole of Ely, bishop of Worcester;
The third was the bishop Walter of Exeter.
The three barons were wise men of the land:
Sir Roger de Somery, sir Robert Walrond,
Sir Alan de la Souche. And verily these six
Chose, when they were sworn, six others after them:
The earl Gilbert of Gloucester, the earl Humphrey, also,
Of Hereford, and the bishop of St. David thereto,
Sir John de Bailol, sir Philip Basset,
Sir Warin of Basingbourne, they might choose none better.
And except they might agree that they should the legate take,
And sir Henry of Almaine, to look after right and law;
And the twelve went together, and often disagreed:
It was nigh All Hallow-tide [1st Nov.] before it was done.
Then the king caused to summon, against the Tuesday
Next before All Hallow-tide [26th Oct.], as his council saw fit,
Bishops and abbots, and priors thereto,
Earls and barons, and knights also,
That they should be at Northampton, to hear and to report
To the decision of these twelve the state of the land.
There the edict was published, of a truth,
That was the "Ban of Kenilworth."[1] Lo! this it was:
That of chief men there should be disinherited none,
Who had held against the king, save the earl of Leicester alone;
But that all the others should have again all their land,
Or the heirs of those who were dead, save that the king in his hand
Should hold it for a term, that there determined was,
Five years some, and some four, each according to his trespass,
And some three, that were least; and when all were done.
That each man should have his lands who right had thereto.
This judgment was right foolish, of a truth, in such distress;
But, however, the siege of Kenilworth lasted for all this.
They within fell sick at the last

[1] That is, the celebrated "Dictum de Kenilworth."

Of leprosy, and other evils, that they soon grew weakened;
And when they perceived that no aid would come to them,
So that, as they needs must, they yielded up the castle,
Securing to every one life and limb, and chattels also,
And that none should be disinherited, nor put in prison.
In this form, about Christmas, the castle rendered was:
Men say, when they came out, that it was no wonder.
Then went the king in all peace his kingdom to maintain:
But yet soon hereafter a new chance happened him;
For the earl Gilbert of Gloucester, with something of treachery,
Gathered to him secretly very great power:
And the tenth day of March [Lud.] into London he marched,
And made, when he was within, the gates fast enough,
And held the town against the king, and all of his people.
Sorely was the king troubled when he heard this.
The legate was then in the Tower; him he beset,
And besieged him there, both day and night.
The legate was sore afraid lest he should be taken:
Neither meat nor drink might into him come.
Many of the disinherited to the earl drew,
That he had with him many high men.
The king went to London, to help the legate,
But he might not come within ever a gate.
The disinherited would have given him battle anon,
But the earl would not, and disturbed each one.
The king went to Stratford, to wait for more force,
And round about London pitched his tents.
By a postern the legate, through cunning and guile,
They brought to Stratford, without London two mile;
While the king around London was with his host
A month, to have his town, and ever he was without.
And eight weeks within the earl kept himself,
Through the king of Almaine he was afterwards reconciled,
And through sir Philip Basset; and thus they held there
One end of a fox's cunning, though he was yet able for more.
Then was the land at peace without disturbance,
And the war was no longer, through that provision.
Soon thereafter sir Edward, as I understand,
The cross took at Northampton to the Holy Land.
There was afterwards at London a little discord, I ween,
In the year of grace twelve hundred and sixty and ten;
So that the earl of Warren slew, at the first touch,
Before the justices at the bench, sir Alan de la Souche.
The king was thereof vexed for the great wrong.
The earl had so great help, that he escaped well enough;
For the Sunday after Lammas [3d Aug.], before the king he came,
At Winchester, as was decreed him, to receive his doom.
With five-and-twenty knights then sworn there,
That he did it not of evil, nor of forespoken malice,
Nor in contempt of the king; and for his trespass
He gave the king twelve hundred marks, and was acquitted.

Then turned sir Edward toward the Holy Land
That autumn, nobly, as I understand.
And verily, the fifth day after the Assumption [20th Aug.],
He embarked, he and his, on the sea at Dover.
The queen went forth with him, and his uncle, that was
Sir William de Valance, and also sir Thomas
Of Clare, and sir Pain de Chaus, and of Clifford sir Roger,
And sir Robert Tipitot, and many another.
Sir Henry of Alemaine soon thereafter, alas!
Went to the court of Rome, to make some purchase.
In the month of March [Lud.], as he came homeward, by chance
In the town of Viterbo [Biterbe], espied he was;
For on a Friday morning,[1] on St. Gregory's day,
As he stood at his mass, as the folk say,
Before the altar, at his prayers, right at the Secret,
Came sir Guy de Mountfort, that was a stalwart knight,
And his aunt's son, alas! very well armed,
And communed with him, and towards him straightway drew,
. . . . . .[2] out with his sword, and basely him slew.
. . . . . of holy church, methinks, with vile wrong.

[1] St. Gregory's day fell upon Thursday (12th August) in A. D. 1271.
[2] Here the text is slightly defective.

THE CHRONICLE OF THE ISLE OF MAN.

THE CHRONICLE OF THE ISLE OF MAN.

HERE commences the history of the kings of Man, and the lives of their bishops, and of certain of the kings of England, and of Scotland, and of Norway.

[A.D. 1015.] In the year one thousand after the incarnation of our Lord, king Cnut, the son of Siourt, assumed the sovereignty of all England. Afterwards Edwin and the Etheling, the brothers of king Edmund, having been put to death, he sent Edmund and Edward, the sons of the same king [Edmund], to the king of the Suavi, that they might be killed; but that monarch, unwilling to slaughter these innocent youths, forwarded them to Solomon, the king of Hungary. In course of time Edmund ended his life there. But Edward took to wife Agatha, the daughter of the brother of the emperor Henry; by whom he became the father of Margaret, who afterwards was queen of Scotland, and of Christina the nun, and of Edgar the Atheling. King Cnut married Emma, by whom he had Hardecnut, afterwards king of both the Danes and the English, and a daughter named Gunhild, who afterwards married Henry, the emperor of the Romans.

[A.D. 1019.] A.D. 1002. Cnut, the king of the English and Danes, went to Denmark, and spent the whole of the winter there in great pomp.

[A.D. 1020.] A.D. 1003. King Cnut returned to England, and held a great council at Cirencester during Easter.

A.D. 1028.] A.D. 1011. King Cnut sailed for Norway with fifty large ships, expelled king Olaf thence, and reduced it to his own dominion.

[A.D. 1029.] A.D. 1012. Cnut, king of the English, Danes, and Norsemen, returned.

[A.D. 1030.] A.D. 1013. St. Olaf the king, the son of king Harold, he whom Cnut had driven out, returned into Norway, and having been wickedly put to death by the Norwegians, he received the glorious crown of martyrdom, and so departed to the Lord.

[A.D. 1031.] A.D. 1014. King Cnut went to Rome with great honour, and offered to St. Peter great gifts in gold and silver; and he obtained from pope John the exemption of the English school.

[A.D. 1032.] A.D. 1015. The church of St. Edmund, the king and martyr, was dedicated. By the general advice of his bishops and nobles, king Cnut expelled the secular priests and introduced the monks. During this same year an inextinguishable fire destroyed many places throughout England.

[A.D. 1034.] A.D. 1017. Malcolm, king of the Scots, died, and Duncan succeeded to the crown.

[A.D. 1035.] A.D. 1018. Before his decease, king Cnut appointed that his son Suane should be king over the Norsemen; over the Danes, Hardecnut, his son by queen Emma, was appointed king; and over the English his son Harold, the issue of Elfiva of Hampshire. After this Cnut departed this present life on the ides of November [15th Nov.], at Shaftesbury, and was buried with due honour in the old monastery at Winchester. But not long after this the kingdom of England was divided between Harold and Hardecnut. In this same year died Robert, duke of Normandy; and his son, William the Bastard, then a youth, succeeded him.

[A.D. 1037.] A.D. 1022. Harold, king of the Mercians and Northumbrians, was chosen to rule over the whole of England; while his brother Hardecnut was rejected, because he had been too long a resident in Denmark.

[A.D. 1040.] A.D. 1023. King Harold died at London, and was buried at Westminster; he was succeeded by Hardecnut.

[A.D. 1046.] A.D. 1027. Magnus, the king of Norway, the son of St. Olaf the king, defeated Suane, king of the Danes, and reduced Denmark.

[A.D. 1047.] A.D. 1028. King Magnus fought a battle with Magnus, drove him out of Denmark, and reigned therein; but not long afterwards he died.

[A.D. 1048.] A.D. 1029. Suane recovered possession of Denmark, and Harold Harfagre, the son of king Syvard, obtained possession of Norway. On his mother's side he was the brother of St. Olaf, being the uncle to king Magnus. He made peace with the king of England by his messengers. This year there was a great earthquake.

[A.D. 1053.] A.D. 1035. Syvard, duke of the Northumbrians, entered Scotland with a large army, at the command of king Edwin; and having given battle to Mactheath, the king of Scotland, he defeated him, and placed Malcolm on the throne, as the king had commanded.

A.D. 1036. A.D. 1037. A.D. 1038. A.D. 1039. A.D. 1040. A.D. 1041. A.D. 1042. A.D. 1043. A.D. 1044. Nothing worthy of notice occurred.

[A.D. 1064.] A.D. 1045. Griffin, the king of North Wales, was killed by his own subjects, and his head and ornaments were sent to Harold, which he immediately forwarded to king Edward. King Edward made a grant of his land to two brothers of his own.

A.D. 1046.

[A.D. 1066.] A.D. 1047. Edward, king of England, of pious memory, died; of whom it was said, that whilst he lived he was the honour and glory of the English, and their ruin when he died. He was succeeded in the realm by Harold, the son of Godwin, with whom Harold Harfagre, the king of Norway, fought a battle, at Steinfordbrige; and there the English, being victorious, made great slaughter amongst the Norwegians, and put the whole of them to flight. A certain Godred, surnamed Cronan, the son of Harold the Black, of Ysland, fled to Godred, the son of Fingal, who

at that time ruled in Man, and by him he was honourably received.

In this same year, William the Bastard subdued England, slew king Harold, and reigned in his stead; bringing the English into perpetual subjection. He ruled the English nation for twenty years and eleven months, and was succeeded by his son.

[A.D. 1070.] A.D. 1051. Malcolm, the king of the Scots, devastated England as far as Cleveland, and married Margaret. In this same year died Godred, the son of Fingal, the king of Man, who was succeeded by his son Fingal.

[A.D. 1075.] A.D. 1056. Godred Cronan assembled a multitude of ships, and arriving at Man, he gave battle to the people of the country; but he was defeated and put to flight. He reunited his troops and ships the second time, and coming to Man, he fought with the Manxmen, but was conquered and repulsed. For the third time he collected a considerable army, and came by night to the port called Ramsay, and there he concealed three hundred men in a wood, which was upon the abrupt declivity of the hill called Scaeafel. At sunrise, the Manxmen drew up their troops, and made a sharp attack upon Godred. When the battle was at the highest, these three hundred men issued from their place of concealment, and attacking the Manxmen on the rear, compelled them to take to flight. They—such of them, at least, as survived—perceiving themselves beaten, and aware that no road of escape was open to them (for the rising tide had filled the channel of the river of Ramsay, and on the other side they were hotly pressed by the enemy), with miserable cries entreated Godred to spare their lives. Moved with pity, and compassionating their misfortune (for he had been brought up among them for some time), he called off his troops and forbade any further pursuit. On the ensuing day, Godred gave his troops the option of either dividing the Isle of Man among them and settling therein, or of appropriating to themselves the entire substance of the land, and then returning home. They preferred to plunder the whole island, and to retire to their own country, enriched with its possessions. Godred, however, delivered to those few of the islanders who remained with him, the southern part of the island; and to the remainder of the Manxmen he gave the northern districts, upon this condition, that none of them should at any time presume to claim any portion of the land by hereditary possession. Hence it came to pass that to this day the whole island is the exclusive property of the king, and all its revenues belong to him alone.

[A.D. 1068.] So Godred subdued Dublin, and the greater part of Leinster; and he also humbled the Scots so thoroughly, that no shipbuilder or boatbuilder dared employ more than three iron bolts. He reigned for sixteen years, and died in the island called Yle, leaving three sons, Lagman, Harold, and Olaf. The eldest, Lagman, seized the realm and reigned for seven years. His brother Harold continued in a state of rebellion against him for a long time; but at length he was captured by Lagman, emasculated, and his eyes put out. Afterwards Lagman, repenting that he had

blinded his brother, voluntarily resigned the kingdom; and having assumed the badge of the cross of our Lord, he set out on the expedition to Jerusalem, in which he died.

A.D. 1073. Malcolm, the king of the Scots, was slain by the English, and was succeeded by Duncan. In this same year died Margaret, queen of Scotland, of pious memory.

A.D. 1075. The whole nobility of the isles hearing of the death of Lagman, sent ambassadors to Murecard O'Brien, king of Ireland, requesting him to send them some person of worth of the royal family to act as their king, until Olaf, the son of Godred, should grow up. The king very willingly assented thereto, and sent them one Donald, the son of Tade; and he advised and commanded him to govern, with all gentleness and moderation, the realm which was not his own. But, on his arrival in the kingdom, he disregarded the advice of his lord, and conducted himself in the realm with great tyranny; and during three years he reigned wickedly, and perpetrated many atrocious crimes. At length all the chieftains of the islands conspired and rose against him in one united body, and drove him out of their country. He vagabondised among the Irish, but did not return to them.

A.D. 1077. One Ingemund was then sent by the king of Norway to take possession of the realm of the islands. On his arrival at the island of Lewes, he sent messengers to all the chief men of the isles, ordering them to hold an assembly and to appoint him king. In the meantime, he and his companions spent their time in rapine and revelling; they violated virgins and matrons, and gave themselves up to the pleasures and gratifications of the flesh. The chief men of the islands, when the intelligence of these proceedings reached them (for they had assembled for the purpose of appointing him king), were exceedingly enraged. and during the night they burnt down the house in which he was lodged, and they either put to the sword, or burnt in the flames, himself and all his followers.

A.D. 1098. The abbey of St. Mary was founded at Citeaux; Antioch was taken by the Christians; and a comet appeared. A comet is a star which does not appear continuously, but chiefly upon the death of a king, or at the downfal of religion.

In the same year a battle was between the Manxmen at Santwat; and the men of the northern district gained the victory. In this battle fell the earl Other and Macmaras, the leaders of each party.

In this same year, Magnus, king of Norway, the son of Olaf, who was the son of Harold Harfagre, wishing to ascertain whether the body of St. Olaf, king and martyr, were uncorrupted, commanded that his tomb should be opened for his inspection. The bishop and the clergy resisted; but the king audaciously advanced, and by his royal authority ordered the shrine to be opened. Having seen with his eyes, and felt with his hands, that the body was uncorrupt, a sudden and violent fear fell upon him, and he departed with the greatest speed. On the following night, Olaf, the king and martyr, appeared to him in a vision, and said,

"I enjoin you to choose one of two things: either to lose your life and kingdom within thirty days, or to depart from Norway, and never to see it more." Awaking from his sleep, the king called his chief men and councillors, and narrated the vision to them. They were exceedingly terrified, and advised him to depart from Norway with all speed. Without delay he gave directions that a fleet of one hundred and sixty ships should be collected, in order that he might sail across to the Orkney islands; and those he soon subdued. Next, he proceeded through all the islands; and having conquered them, he arrived at Man. When he had landed at St. Patrick's isle, he came to inspect the field of the battle in which the Manxmen had lately been engaged among themselves, and upon which many of the bodies of the slain still lay unburied. The exceeding beauty of the island pleased him when he saw it; and having resolved to establish himself therein, he erected some strongholds, which to the present day bear his name. He so effectually curbed the men of Galloway, that he constrained them to cut down the timber which he required, and to carry it to the shore, that it might be employed in the erection of his entrenchments. He sailed to Moinia [Anglesey], an island of Wales, in which he found two earls of the name of Hugh; one of them he slew, the other he put to flight; and he conquered the island. The men of Wales offered him great gifts; and leaving them, he returned to Man. To Murecard, the king of Ireland, he sent his shoes, with orders to carry them upon his arms through the midst of his house upon Christmas-day, in the presence of the [Norwegian] ambassadors, that thus they might understand that he was a subject of king Magnus. When the Irish heard of this, they were exceedingly enraged, and took it ill; but the king, with greater prudence, said, "Not only would I carry his shoes, but would even eat them, rather than that king Magnus should destroy a single province in Ireland." Consequently he obeyed the king's orders, and paid respect to the ambassadors, by whom he sent back many presents to king Magnus, and entered into a treaty with him.

On their return, the messengers reported favourably to their lord respecting the situation of Ireland, its pleasantness, its fertility in grain, and the salubrity of the climate. Hearing this, Magnus thought of nothing else save the subjugation of the whole of Ireland. Therefore, he directed that his fleet should be assembled, and he sailed himself with sixteen ships to examine the country; but happening to leave his ships in an incautious manner, he was surrounded by the Irishmen, and perished with nearly all his followers. He was buried in the church of St. Patrick at Down, having reigned for six years over the isles. After his death the princes of the isles sent for Olaf, the son of Godred Cronan, of whom we have made mention above, who at that time was a resident in the court of Henry, king of England, the son of William, and they conducted him home.

A.D. 1102. Olaf, the son of Godred Cronan, began to reign over all the isles; and he reigned over them for forty years. He

was a man of peace, and he lived upon such terms of union with all the kings of Ireland and Scotland, that no one dared to disturb the kingdom of the isles as long as he was alive. He took to wife a daughter of Fergus of Galloway, named Afreca, who bore him Godred. He also had several concubines, by whom he became the father of three sons; namely, Reignald, Lagmann, and Harold, and of many daughters; one of whom married Sumerlid, the prince of Herergaidel [Argyle], who became the occasion of the ruin of the entire kingdom of the isles: for she bore him four sons, Dubgal, Raignald, Engus, and Olaf, concerning whom we shall speak more fully in the sequel.

A.D. 1112. The abbey of St. Mary of Savigny was founded.

A.D. 1126. Alexander, king of Scotland, died, and his brother David succeeded him. In this same year was founded the abbey of St. Mary of Furness.

A.D. 1133. The abbey of St. Mary of Rievaulx was founded. In the same year there was an eclipse of the sun, on Wednesday, the fourth of the nones of August [2d Aug.], so that for some time the day was turned into night.

A.D. 1134. The abbey of St. Mary of Calder was founded. In this same year king Olaf gave to Yvo, the abbot of Furness, a portion of his land in Man, to found an abbey at a place called Russin; and to the churches of the islands he gave lands and liberties. He was devout and fervent in matters which related to the service of God, with whom he was in favour, as also with men; in consequence of which they were lenient towards his domestic vices.

A.D. 1136. Henry, king of England, died, and Stephen, earl of Boulogne, his nephew, succeeded him in the kingdom. Upon the day of his coronation the pax was forgotten to be given to the people at the mass.

A.D. 1139. The abbey of St. Mary at Melrose was founded. In the same year the battle of the Standarath [Standard] was fought between the English and the Scotch, and the Scotch were defeated and put to flight.

A.D. 1140. St. Malachi, a bishop, and the legate for Ireland, died at Clairvaux, and was buried in the oratory of the blessed Virgin Mary, in which he was well pleased.

A.D. 1141. The abbey of St. Mary at Holmcoltran was founded.

A.D. 1142. Godred, the son of Olaf, passed over to the king of Norway, named Ingo, and did homage to him; and having been honourably entertained, he continued there for some time.

In this same year the three sons of Harold, the brother of Olaf, who had been brought up at Dublin, assembled a large body of men, including all those whom the king had banished, and came to Man, demanding from the king the half of the entire kingdom of the isles. When the king heard this, he endeavoured to pacify them by answering that he would take the matter into consideration. They appointed a day and place for the holding of a council; but in the meantime these wicked persons deliberated among themselves how to put the king to death. Upon the day appointed both parties met at the port called Ramsay, and they sat down in

order, the king with his followers on the one part, and they and theirs on the other; but Regnald, who was to give the blow, stood in the midst, talking apart with one of the princes of the land. Being summoned to the king, he turned towards him as if to salute him, and raising his bright battle-axe on high, he smote off the king's head at one blow. Immediately upon the perpetration of this great crime, they divided the land among themselves; and a few days afterwards, having collected a fleet, they sailed over to Galloway, intending to conquer it for themselves. The Galloway men, however, formed themselves into a body, and assailed them with great impetuosity; whereupon they speedily fled in great confusion to Man, and they either murdered or expelled from it all the men of Galloway who were resident within the island.

A.D. 1143. Bernard, the first abbot of Clairvaux, of blessed memory, died. In the same year died David, king of Scotland; who was succeeded by his grandson Malcolm, who was inaugurated as king with royal honours. In the previous year king Olaf was slain on the day of the holy apostles Peter and Paul [29th June], as we have mentioned above; and in the succeeding autumn his son Godred came from Norway, with five ships, and landed in the Orkneys. But all the princes of the isles rejoiced when they heard of his arrival, and having had a general assembly they unanimously elected him king; and so Godred, on his arrival in Man, laid hold of the three sons of Harold, and in revenge of his father's death he inflicted upon them condign capital punishment. It is reported that he put out the eyes of two of them, and killed one.

A.D. 1144. [A.D. 1154.] Godred began his reign, and he reigned for thirty-three years. Many things worthy of memory might be recorded of him, which we have omitted for the sake of brevity. In the third year of his reign the people of Dublin sent for him that he might reign over them. Having collected a multitude of ships and a large army, he came to Dublin, and was willingly received by the citizens with great joy; and a few days afterwards they raised him to be their king by the common counsel and consent. Hearing of this, Murceard, king of Ireland, collected a countless multitude of the Irish, and hastened towards Dublin, in order that he might expel Godred, and make himself master of the city. When he drew near the city named Cortchelis, he pitched his tent and halted there. On the following day he selected three thousand horsemen, over whom he placed as their leader his uterine brother, named Osiblen; and he despatched him to the city [of Dublin] with the cavalry already mentioned, to treat with the inhabitants, and at the same time to make trial of their courage. But no sooner had he drawn near the city, than Godred and his followers, with all the citizens of Dublin, rushed out with a great cry, and having made a great attack upon the assailants, they discharged such a shower of darts that they compelled them to take to flight. But Osiblen, the king's brother, in his attempts to offer a bold resistance, was surrounded by the enemy, and perished along with many others. The remainder escaped through the swiftness of their horses; and when they reached home, they

gave a full account of the transaction. When the king [Murceard] heard of his brother's death, he lamented for him with a grief which could not be consoled; and in the excess of his sorrow he gave orders that his troops should be disbanded, and that each man should return to his own home.

Being now secure in the kingdom, and seeing none able to oppose his dictates, he began to grow tyrannical to his chief men, some of whom he dispossessed, and others he degraded from their dignities. Among these the most powerful was Thorfin, the son of Oter. This chieftain therefore went to Sumerlid, and requested to have his son Dubgal, that he might set him on the throne of the isles. Sumerlid gladly embraced the proposal, and delivered up Dubgal to his care. Thorfin, accordingly, took the young prince, and conducting him through all the isles, forced the chiefs to acknowledge him for their sovereign, and to give hostages for their allegiance. One of their princes, named Paul, however, fled privately to Godred, and acquainted him with the transactions. The intelligence terrified Godred. He instantly ordered his vassals to get ready their ships, and without delay sailed to meet the enemy. In the meantime Sumerlid was not idle; he collected a fleet of eighty vessels, and prepared for the combat.

A.D. 1156. A sea-battle was fought between Godred and Sumerlid, during the night of the Epiphany, with great slaughter on both sides. Next morning, however, at daybreak, they came to a compromise, and divided between themselves the sovereignty of the isles; so, from that period, they have formed two distinct monarchies till the present time. The ruin of the isles may be dated from the moment that part of them were ceded to the sons of Sumerlid.

A.D. 1158. Sumerlid, with a fleet of fifty-three ships, came to Man, where, encountering Godred, he defeated that prince, and, after plundering the whole island, departed. Godred, on this, passed over to Norway, and craved assistance against Sumerlid.

Some Anecdotes concerning St. Machutus the Confessor.

While Somerlid was at Ramsö, in Man, at this time, he was informed that his troops intended to plunder the church of St. Machutus, where a great deal of money had been deposited; for the veneration due to that holy confessor, St. Machutus, added to the sanctity of the place, afforded a secure refuge for everything within its precincts. One Gilcolm, a very powerful chieftain, in particular, suggested some very broad hints to Sumerlid about the money; and, besides, observed that he did not see how it was any breach of the peace against St. Machutus, if, for the sustenance of the army, they drove off the cattle, which were feeding outside the churchyard. Somerlid objected to the proposal, and said that he would not on any account allow violence to be offered to St. Machutus. On this Gilcolm earnestly petitioned that he, with his followers, might be allowed to go to the place, and engaged to take the guilt upon his own head. Somerlid at last, though with some reluctance, consented, and pronounced these words: "Let

the affair rest between thee and St. Machutus—let me and my troops be innocent—we have no wish to share in thy sacrilegious booty." Gilcolm, exceedingly happy at this declaration, ran back, and ordered his vassals to assemble. He then desired that his three sons and all their followers should be ready, at daybreak, to surprise the church of St. Machutus, about two miles distant. Meanwhile, news was brought to those in the church that the enemy were advancing, which terrified them to such a degree that many of the men who were there left the sanctuary and sought shelter in caves and subterraneous dens. The other inhabitants of the district, with loud shrieks, spent the whole night in imploring the forgiveness of God, through the merits of St. Machutus. The weaker sex, also, with dishevelled locks, ran frantic about the walls of the church, yelling, and crying with a loud voice, "Where art thou at this time, holy Machutus? Where are thy wonders that, in the old time before us, thou wroughtest in this spot? Hast thou abandoned us for our transgressions? Wilt thou forsake thy people in such an extremity? If not in compassion towards us, yet for thine own honour once more send us deliverance." Machutus, mollified, as we suppose, by these and the like supplications, pitied their distress. He snatched them from the imminent danger, and consigned their adversary to a fearful kind of death. For Gilcolum had no sooner fallen asleep in his tent, than Machutus, arrayed in a white robe, and holding a pastoral staff in his hand, appeared to him. He placed himself opposite to the couch, and thus addressed him: "What hast thou against me, Gilcolum—wherein have I, or any of my servants, offended thee, that thou shouldst thus covet what is deposited within my sanctuary?" Gilcolum answered, "And what art thou?" He replied," I am the servant of Christ, my name Machutus, whose church thou proposest to violate: but vain are thy endeavours!" On this, raising the staff which he held in his hand, he struck him to the heart with its point. The impious man was confounded, and by his loud cries he awakened his soldiers, who were sleeping in their tents round about. The saint struck him again, which made him utter a second shriek. His son and followers ran in the greatest consternation to see what was the matter. The wretch's tongue clave to his mouth in such a manner that it was with much difficulty he could utter the following sentence: "Machutus," said he with a groan, "was here, and thrice he pierced me with his staff, and has slain me. Go, therefore, hastily to the church; bring the staff; and also priests, and clerks, that they may make intercession for me, if, peradventure, St. Machutus will forgive what I devised against him." In obedience, his attendants straightway implored the priests to bring the staff, and to visit their master, who at that time was apparently in the agonies of death; they also relating what had happened. The priests, and clerks, and a multitude of the people, on hearing of the miracle, were exceedingly rejoiced indeed, and despatched some of the clergy with the staff. Coming into the presence of the afflicted wretch, they found him almost dead, for he was now speechless; wherefore one of the clerks pronounced the fol-

lowing imprecation: "May St. Machutus, who first laid his vengeful hand upon thee, never remove thy plagues till he has brought thee to destruction! Thus shall others, by seeing and hearing thy punishment, learn to pay due respect to hallowed places." The clergy then retired home; and immediately on their departure such a swarm of monstrous filthy flies came buzzing about his face and mouth, that neither he himself nor his attendants could drive them away. At last, about six o'clock in the morning, he expired in great misery and dismal torture. The exit of this man struck Sumerlid and his whole host with such dismay, that, as soon as the tide served to float their ships, they weighed anchor, and with the utmost precipitancy returned home.

A.D. 1164. Sumerlid got together a fleet of one hundred and sixty galleys, and landed at Renfrew, with the determined resolution of making a complete conquest of all Scotland. By the wrath of God, he was routed by a handful of men, and he himself, his son, with a vast multitude of their troops, were slaughtered by the Scotch.

This year there was a battle at Ramsay, between Reginald, brother to Godred, and the Manksmen, where by the treachery of a certain sheriff, the Manksmen were worsted, and Reginald ascended the throne. Four days after, however, Godred arrived, with a great number of armed forces, from Norway; and seizing his brother Reginald, he emasculated him and put out his eyes. This year also, Malcolm, king of Scotland, died, and the sceptre devolved to his brother William.

A.D. 1166. Two comets appeared before sunrise, in the month of August; the one in the south, the other in the north.

A.D. 1171. Richard, earl of Pembroke, sailed into Ireland, and reduced a great part of the country, together with the city of Dublin.

Henry, king of England, caused his son, prince Henry, though a boy, to be crowned at London, on the eleventh of the kalends of June [22d May]. On the Sunday following [23d May] he ordered him to be consecrated by Roger, the usurping archbishop of York, who, prompted by a tyrannical king and his own ambition, in despite of the canon law, invaded the province of the venerable Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, then an exile in France.

This year also, on the festival of the apostles St. Peter and Paul, there suddenly happened a violent and tremendous earthquake.

St. Thomas, of blessed memory, archbishop of Canterbury, legate of the holy see, primate of all England, and a true martyr of Christ, was assassinated in the cathedral of his own diocese for adhering to righteousness.

A.D. 1176. John de Curcy subdued Ulster. This year Vivian, cardinal legate of the apostolic see, came to Man, and fulfilling the object of his mission, caused king Godred to be lawfully wedded with his consort Phingola, daughter to Maclochlen, the son of Murkartach, king of Ireland, and mother to Olave, then a child of three years old. Silvanus, abbot of Rieval, performed the ceremony of their marriage. On that occasion Godred gave, as an offering to the venerable abbot Silvanus, a portion of land at Mirescog, where

he built a monastery. In after times, however, the donation was transferred to the abbey to St. Mary at Russin, and the monks were transplanted thither.

[A.D. 1172.] Ronald, son to Eacmarcat, one of the blood royal, landed, in the absence of the sovereign, with a great retinue, in Man. At the first onset he routed the guard on the coast, of whom he killed about twenty men. On the same day, however, the Manksmen assembled, and, encountering the invader, slew himself, and nearly the whole of his men.

[A.D. 1183.] Fogolt, the sheriff, departed this life.

A.D. 1185. On the festival of the apostles St. Philip and James [1st May], the sun was so deeply eclipsed that the stars were visible.

A.D. 1187. Jerusalem was taken by the infidels; and the holy cross was removed to Damascus. This year Godred, king of the isles, died on the fourth of the ides of November [29th Oct.], in the isle of St. Patrick in Man. In the beginning of the ensuing summer his corpse was carried to the island called Hy [Iona]. He left three sons, Reginald, Olave, and Yvar. Reginald, then a manly youth, was in the isles; but his brother, still a stripling, resided in Man.

Godred in his lifetime nominated his son Olave heir to the crown; to which, indeed, he had a prior right of inheritance, as being born in lawful wedlock. He also enjoined the whole inhabitants of Man, after his decease, to receive Olave for their lord, as they ought to do, and so preserve their oaths of allegiance inviolate. No sooner, however, was Godred dead, than the Manksmen sent messengers through the isles to call in Olave, because he was a man of stronger and of riper years; and they nominated him their king. This was done, because they were afraid of the inexperience of Olave, who was then a lad of only ten years of age. It was supposed that a prince not old enough to take care of himself was unfit to manage a nation; and this was the true reason why the Manksmen preferred Reginald for their king.

A.D. 1188. Reginald, the son of Godred, began his reign over the isles; and during the same year Murcard, a brave and potent chieftain in the entire realm of the isles, was slain.

A.D. 1189. Henry, king of England, died, and was succeeded by his son Richard. That same year Rodolph, abbot of Furness, died in Mellefont.

A.D. 1190. Philip of France, and Richard, king of England, set out for Jerusalem with mighty armies.

A.D. 1192. A battle was fought between Reginald and Engus, the sons of Sumerlid. In the engagement many were mortally wounded; but Engus came off victorious.

This year the abbey of St. Mary of Russin was translated to Dufglas; and the monks, after living four years there, removed back to Russin.

A.D. 1193. Richard, king of England, in his return from Jerusalem, was seized in Germany; and England paid one hundred thousand marks for his release.

A.D. 1193. Michael, bishop of the isles, died at Fountains abbey; and Nicolas succeeded in the diocese.

A.D. 1204. Hugh de Lacy came with an army to Ulster, and, encountering John de Cursi, took him prisoner, put him in irons, and made himself master of Ulster. He afterwards dismissed John, who, on his enlargement, went to king Reginald. He received him with all the honour due to a son-in-law; for John de Cursi had married Godred's daughter Affreka. She founded the abbey of St. Mary de Jugo Dei, and there she was buried.

A.D. 1205. John de Cursi, recruiting his forces, got together a great army, and carried Reginald, with near a hundred ships, back with him to Ulster. Entering the bay which is called Strangfiord, they carelessly besieged the castle of Rath. Here they were surprised by a numerous army under the command of Walter de Lacy, who put them to the rout with great confusion. From this time John de Curci never recovered his estates.

A.D. 1210. Engus, the son of Sumerlid, with three of his sons, was slain.

This year Richard [John], king of England, landing in Ireland, with a navy of five hundred ships, subdued the whole nation. He detached a part of his troops, under the command of Fulco, to Man, who, in fifteen days, totally pillaged the country; and exacting hostages, returned home. Neither king Reginald, nor any of the nobility, were then in Man.

[A.D. 1217.] Nicholas, bishop of the isles, departed this life, and was interred at Benchor in Ulster. Ronald succeeded him in the see.

For the edification of the reader, we think there is no impropriety in making a digression, concerning the arrangement between the brothers Reginald and Olave.

Reginald gave his brother Olave the island which is called Lodhus [Lewes], which, though larger than any of the other isles, is mountainous, rocky, and nearly entirely unarable. It is, of course, thinly peopled, and the inhabitants live mostly by hunting and fishing. To this island Olave retired, and lived in the way of poverty. Seeing the island could not support him and his followers, he went confidentially to his brother Reginald, who was at that time resident in the islands, and thus accosted him: "Brother, my lord and sovereign, thou art conscious that the kingdom of the isles is my birthright; but as the Almighty hath appointed thee to rule over them, I neither envy nor begrudge thee this royal dignity. Let me now only entreat thee to appoint me some portion of land in the islands, where I may live creditably with my people; for the island of Leodhus [Lewes], which thou hast given me, is insufficient for my maintenance." Reginald, when he heard this, said he would advise with his council on the subject, and promised that next day he should give a final answer to the request. Early in the morning of the next day, therefore, Olave was admitted to an audience with Reginald, who ordered the petitioner to be seized and fettered, and thus conducted to William, king of Scotland, there to be imprisoned; which was accordingly done. There he remained in the king's prison for nearly seven years. But in the seventh year, William, king of Scotland, died,

and was succeeded by Alexander, his son; but before his death he ordered that all the prisoners who were at that time in confinement should be liberated. Olave among the rest was emancipated from his chains. On obtaining his liberty, he came to his brother Reginald in Man; and, soon after, with a considerable retinue of noblemen, went on a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. James [at Compostella]. Returning from his travels, he again paid a visit to his brother, who gave him a very affectionate reception. He afterwards prevailed upon Olave to marry Joan, the daughter of a nobleman of Kintire, and nearly related to his own queen. He assigned them the Lewes as an appanage; and Olave, taking leave of his brother, set out for that island, where he fixed his residence.

Some days after, Reginald, bishop of the isles, and successor to bishop Nicholas, came to the isles, on a visitation of the churches. Olave, happy to see his sister's son, received the bishop with great hospitality, and ordered a sumptuous banquet to be prepared. Reginald, however, said to Olave: "I will not partake with thee, brother, till the catholic church hath canonically freed thee from the bond of thy illicit marriage:" adding, "Art thou not sensible that thou wast formerly wedded to the cousin of the woman who is now thy consort?" Olave could not resist the truth, and confessed that he had long kept her cousin as his concubine. Convening a synod, therefore, bishop Reginald canonically divorced Jauon from Olave, the son of Godred, who afterwards married Christina, the daughter of Ferchar, earl of Ross.

Reginald's consort, queen of the isles, vexed at the separation of her sister from Olave, and stimulated by bitter resentment, occasioned a quarrel between Reginald, her lord, and Olave; and she privately sent letters, under Reginald's name, ordering her son Godred, then in Skye, to lay hold of and kill Olave. On receiving the letters, Godred immediately called out his troops, and, though a minor, he hastened to Lodhus [Lewes], eager to execute his mother's injunctions, if it were possible. Olave, however, with a few of his retainers, procured a small boat; and after a very narrow escape from the face of Godred, he reached his father-in-law, the earl of Ross. Godred in the meanwhile pillaged nearly the whole island; and having put many of the people to death, he returned home.

At that time Paul, the son of Boke, sheriff of Skye, a brave warrior, and of great influence throughout all the realm of the Hebrides, fled from before the face of Godred, because he would not consent to the murder of Olave, with whom he was dwelling at the residence of the earl of Ross. In a few days, Olave and the aforesaid sheriff swore an oath of mutual defence; and procuring a vessel, they steered for Skye, where they concealed themselves for some days. At last they despatched scouts, who brought back intelligence that Godred was in a certain island, called the isle of St. Columba, attended only by a few friends, and without the remotest apprehension of danger. Immediately on receiving this information, they collected all their partisans and friends, and all who felt inclined to join them. They set sail in the middle of the

night, with five ships, which they had procured from the opposite shore, distant about two furlongs from the said island; and thus they surrounded the island [of St. Columba]. Godred and his adherents rose early in the morning; and perceiving themselves surrounded on all sides by the enemy, were struck with consternation. Nevertheless, as they were clad in armour, they prepared to make a resolute defence. All their efforts, however, were fruitless. About nine o'clock, Olave and Paul, the said sheriff, advanced with their forces, and entered the island. Having cut to pieces all those whom they found without the precincts of the church, they apprehended Godred, and put out his eyes and emasculated him. Olave objected to this barbarity; but he could not resist, on account of the son of Boke, the sheriff aforesaid. This transaction happened in the year 1223.

[A.D. 1224.] Next summer, Olave, after exacting hostages from all the insular chieftains, returned to Man with a fleet of thirty-two ships, and anchored at Rognalswaht. Not long after, he and Reginald made a partition of the kingdom of the isles. Man was ceded to Olave, with the title of king. Olave received a supply of provisions from the Manksmen, and returned with his troops to take possession of his division of the isles.

[A.D. 1225.] In the ensuing year, Reginald, joined by Alan, lord of Galloway, sailed with the Mankish army on an expedition to the isles, in order to wrest from his brother Olave those isles which, at the partition, had fallen to his lot, and to reunite them to his own dominions. The Manksmen, however, showed so much amity towards Olave and the islanders, and so much reluctance to fight, that Reginald and Alan, the lord of Galloway, made no progress, and returned home.

Some time after, Reginald, on pretence of making a journey to the court of the king of England, obtained of his subjects one hundred marks. He then went to the court of Alan, lord of Galloway. At the same time he gave his daughter in marriage to the son of this Alan. When the Manksmen heard of this they were exceedingly enraged, and having sent for Olave, they made him their king.

A.D. 1226. Olave recovered his inheritance, that is to say, the realm of Man and the isles, which his brother Reginald had governed for thirty-eight years; and he reigned in peace for two years.

A.D. 1228. Accompanied by all the Manx nobility, and the more warlike portion of the people, Olave sailed over to the isles. Shortly after this, Alan, lord of Galloway, and Thomas, earl of Athol, and king Reginald, came to Man with a great army, and devastated the whole of the southern part of that island: they pillaged the churches, and killed all the men on whom they could lay their hands; so that the southern part of the isle was reduced to nearly a wilderness. Alan then returned home with his troops into his own country; but he left behind him bailiffs in Man, to collect the tribute of the land, and to send it to him. But king Olave surprised them, and put them to flight, and recovered his

realm; and the inhabitants of Man, who had previously been dispersed far and wide, now began to assemble themselves together, and to dwell securely.

In this same year king Reginald came unexpectedly from Galloway one midnight during the winter, with five ships; and that very night he burnt all the ships of his brother Olave, and those of all the Manx nobility at St. Patrick's isle. He then went round the whole land, and having entreated peace from his brother, he remained nearly for forty days at the port which is called Rognalswaht.

In the meantime, however, he was seducing to his own ends the minds of all the islanders who resided on the southern portion of the Isle of Man, and formed them into his own party. Some of them swore that they would lay down their lives for him even to death, if that were necessary for his obtaining the half of the realm of the isles. Olave, on the other hand, associated to himself the inhabitants of the north of Man; and so entirely did his eloquence prevail with them, that their hearts were entirely his own. And so it came to pass, that on the fourteenth of February, or St. Valentine's day, the two factions prepared for battle. Olave came to the place called Tingwal with his troops, and there halted a little. Ronald also advanced to the field, and drew up his forces ready to engage. Olave soon commenced the attack, and charged with such impetuosity that he drove the enemy before him like a flock of sheep. During the pursuit, some ruffians overtaking Ronald, slew him on the spot, without the knowledge of Olave; who, though he expressed much apparent sorrow at the mishap, yet he never called the perpetrators to any account. Many fell in this conflict; and, to increase the calamity, a band of freebooters, landing in the southern coasts of Man, first pillaged, and then left it almost a desert. The monks of Russin conveyed the body of Ronald to the abbey of St. Mary at Furness, where it was interred in a place which that prince had bespoken in his lifetime.

Olave, on his victory, set out for the court of the king of Norway; but before his arrival that monarch had conferred the title of king of the isles on Ospac Aumandson, and also permitted him to assume the name of Haco. Haco-Ospac, attended by a considerable number of Norwegian adventurers, accompanied Olave and Godred-Don, the son of Reginald, to the Hebrides. Arriving at Bute, they laid siege to the principal fortress; where Haco-Ospac, being mortally wounded by a stone thrown from the walls, was buried in Iona.

A.D. 1230. Olave, with Godred-Don and the Norwegians, coming to Man again, agreed upon a partition of the isles. Olave obtained Man; and Godred, after having taken possession of the division allotted to him, was killed in the Lewes.

A.D. 1237. On the twelfth of the kalends of June, Olave Godredson, king of Man and the isles, ending his days at St. Patrick's isle, was interred in the abbey of St. Mary in Russin. Olave governed Man eleven years; two years during the lifetime of Reginald, and nine after his decease. Olave dying, left the crown to his son Harald. This prince was fourteen years of age

when he commenced his reign, and swayed the sceptre twelve years. In the first year of his government, he, with a numerous train of his nobility, made the circuit of the isles, and left [Lauchlan] a relation of his own as viceroy in Man during his absence. On his arrival in the Hebrides, the people showed him the highest respect, and every demonstration of joy.

In the following autumn, Harald sent the three sons of Niel, Dubh-gâl, Thorkel, and Maol-mhuire, as also Joseph, one of his friends, to Man, where they landed at St. Patrick's isle. On the twenty-fourth of the month of October, and three days after the arrival of Niel's sons, a convention of all the states of Man was held at Thingwal. At this assembly the three sons of Niel appeared with all the partisans they could procure in the isles. Lauchlan, regent of Man, also attended at the spot where the diets were usually held. He provided for his personal safety by bringing with him the whole of his connexions, since he mistrusted Niel on account of an old grudge which had subsisted between them. After much altercation and abusive language, the leaders of the respective factions found it was impossible to compromise their differences; and the two parties, seeing this, rushed out of the assembly, and came to blows. The conflict was well supported; at last victory declared for Lauchlan's party. Joseph, Harald's friend, together with Niel's two sons, Dubh-gâl and Maol-mhuire, fell in the encounter. The remainder escaped by flight. After this, the assembly was dissolved and the constituents dispersed. In the spring, Harald, leaving the Hebrides, came to Man, and landed at Ronalswath. On the same day, Lauchlan and his partisans, dreading the presence of their sovereign, sailed for Wales. He carried with him his foster-son, Godred Olaveson, a young prince of a most amiable disposition. Having proceeded that day, and the greater part of the night, in their voyage, they found themselves near the coast of Wales. They immediately steered for the destined port. Unluckily, the wind shifting, a tempest arose, which threw them out of their course, and dashed the vessel against the rocks. Lauchlan was scrambling up the precipices, when he heard his pupil behind him crying out for help. This made such an impression on the generous mind of Lauchlan, that he leaped back into the vessel, determined either to lose his life or save the royal youth. He seized the prince in his arms, and faithfully made every exertion to get him on shore. Unfortunately, however, they both fell into the hold, and were drowned; for the vessel was not only immersed to the brim, but was also full of water. With the leader about forty men perished, and scarcely so many survived the accident.

A.D. 1238. Gos-patric and Gil-christ, the son of Mackerthac, were directed by the king of Norway to sail for Man. As Harald had refused to go to the Norwegian court, they expelled him, took possession of his dominions, and collected the royal revenues for the use of their sovereign.

Harald repeatedly appeared off the coast; but Gos-patric and Gil-christ as often displayed their force, and showed that they were

determined to oppose his disembarkation. Meeting with this repulse, and being deprived of all supply from the shore, Harald was forced to retire to the islands, where he remained for some time.

A.D. 1239. Harald, listening to some prudent and wholesome counsels, went to Norway, where he resided for above two years; and during this long stay effectually re-established his interest at that court. The Norwegian monarch constituted him king over all the islands which his predecessors Godred, Reginald, or Olave possessed; and he ratified this grant by a charter under the great seal, to him, his heirs, and successors, for ever.

A.D. 1240. Gos-patric died at the church of St. Michael, and was buried in St. Mary's abbey at Russin.

A.D. 1242. Harald Olaveson, being thus confirmed in the kingdom of Man and the isles by the king of Norway, returned home to the Hebrides, where he assembled a vast number of vessels, and steered for St. Patrick's isle. There the whole people of Man in great peace crowded to meet their prince, and welcomed him with the utmost fervency. Harald, finding he and his retinue were so cordially received, dismissed the islanders, after furnishing them with a supply of provisions sufficient for their respective ships. From this time Harald lived in the most profound tranquillity, and enjoyed a stable federal peace with the kings of England and of Scotland.

A.D. 1247. Harald was knighted, as his father had also been, by Henry, king of England; and after being treated with great attention, and honoured with several valuable presents, he returned home.

This year the Norwegian monarch again summoned Harald to his court. He accordingly set out by the way of England, and arrived in safety. The king of Norway treated him with distinguished marks of regard, and gave him Cecilia, his daughter, in marriage. He besides intimated that he intended to prefer him to great glory, and to exalt the throne of his kingdom to a pitch unknown to any of his ancestors.

This year Simon, of pious memory, bishop of the isles, died on the day before the kalends of March [28th Feb.], at the church of St. Michael the archangel. He is buried in St. Patrick's isle, and within the cathedral of St. German which he had founded. He was bishop eighteen years, and lived to a very advanced age. After his decease, one Laurence, by the appointment and approbation of the chapter of Man, was chosen to fill the see. He immediately set off to Norway, to present himself to Harald, and to the archbishop of Drontheim, by whom he regularly ought to be consecrated. Harald, however, from some accounts transmitted to him from Man, would not assent to the election till he was on the spot, and could satisfy himself that Laurence was the person really fixed upon by the clergy and people of the island.

A.D. 1248. Harald, king of Man and the isles, with his Norwegian princess and Laurence, attended by many people of distinction, sailed from Norway about Michaelmas for Man. When

they arrived off Radland a violent tempest arose, and Harald with all his retinue perished in the waves. The exit of this prince was matter of sincere lamentation to all who knew his good qualities. His brother Reginald mounted the throne.

A.D. 1249. Reginald Olaveson began his reign in Man on the day preceding the nones of May [6th May]. On the thirtieth of the same month, that is to say, on the third of the kalends of June, he was murdered in a meadow near the west end of Trinity church in Russin, by Ivar a knight, and a party of assassins. His remains were deposited in St. Mary's church at that place. On this event Harald, the son of Godred-Don, assumed the sceptre of Man.

At this period Alexander, the Scottish monarch, brought together a great fleet, with a design of reducing all the islands. He advanced in his enterprise as far as Kerwary, but was there seized with a disorder which proved fatal. His body was carried to the monastery of Melrose, where it was pompously interred. His son Alexander, a minor, succeeded to the Scottish crown.

Harald, the son of Godred-Don, was sensible that he had no legal right to the title or dignity of king of Man. He therefore banished or dispersed all the adherents of Harald Olaveson, and introduced his own partisans and chieftains in their stead.

A Miracle wrought by the blessed Virgin Mary.

There was a certain person called Donald, a veteran chieftain, and a particular favourite of Harald Olaveson. This man flying the persecution raised by Harald Godredson, took sanctuary with his infant child in St. Mary's monastery at Russin. Thither Harald Godredson followed; and as he could not offer violence in this privileged place, he, in flattering and deceitful language, addressed the aged man to this purpose: "Why dost thou thus resolve to fly from me? I mean to do thee no harm." He then assured him of protection, adding that he might depart in peace to any part of the country he had a mind. The man relying on the solemn promise and veracity of the king, followed him out of the monastery. Within a short space, however, his majesty manifested his sinister intentions, and demonstrated that he paid no regard to truth, or even his oath. He ordered the old man to be apprehended, bound, and carried to an isle in the lake at Mirescog, where he was consigned over to the charge of a strong guard. In this distress Donald still had confidence towards God. As often as he could conveniently bend his knees, he prayed the Lord to deliver him from his chains, through the intercession of the blessed Virgin, from whose monastery he had been so insidiously betrayed. The divine interposition was not withheld. One day, as he was sitting in his chamber, and guarded only by two sentinels, for the others were absent, suddenly the fetters dropped from his ancles, and left him at full liberty to escape. He reflected, notwithstanding, that he could elope more successfully during the night while the sentinels were asleep, and from this consideration attempted to replace his feet in the fetters, but to his astonishment found it impossible. Concluding therefore that this was wrought by the might

of heaven, he wrapped himself in his mantle, and taking to flight made the best of his way. One of the sentinels, a baker by trade, observing him, immediately started up and pursued. Having run a good way, eager to overtake the fugitive, he hit his leg a severe blow against a log; and thus while running full speed he was so arrested by the power of the Lord that he could not stand. Hence the good man by the help of heaven got clear, and on the third day he reached St. Mary's abbey at Russin, where he put up thanksgivings to God and the most merciful mother for the deliverance. This declaration we have recorded from the man's own mouth.

A.D. 1250. Harald Godredson was invited to the court of the king of Norway, who expressed much dissatisfaction with Harald, because he thought he usurped and occupied a crown to which he had no right. He therefore detained him in Norway, and intended to prevent his return home to the parts of Sodor.

This year Magnus Olaveson and John Dugalson, with some Norwegians, came to Man, and disembarked at Ronaldswath. John Dugalson forthwith despatched messengers to the people of Man, telling them, "such and such are the commands which John, king of the isles, sends you." When the Manksmen heard that John declared himself king of the isles in opposition to Magnus Olaveson, they were exasperated, and would no longer listen to the messengers. They consequently retired, and made their report. King John was highly enraged. He ordered his men instantaneously to arm; he then led them up St. Michael's isle, where he marshalled them. As soon as his tribes were arranged, he desired them to sit down in divisions to breathe a little, that they might be prepared to engage at daybreak, if the Manks did not agree to capitulate on such terms as he chose to dictate. The Manks, seeing the enemy's line formed in front, boldly descended to the shore, and, drawing up in battalions, waited with much steadiness for the signal. John's courage was damped by this show of resistance; he therefore waived fighting till the ebb left dry the isthmus which connects the islands, when he and his troops retreated with such precipitation that they left behind them many stragglers who had gone up the country in search of provisions. A young officer who attended Ivar, collecting a body of the inhabitants, went in quest of the plunderers, some of whom were killed, and others drowned in attempting to get on board the ships.

I make no doubt but this calamity was brought upon the invaders by their pride and insolence in rejecting the terms of peace proposed by the natives; for at noon the Manks, by deputies, had made the following declaration: "You, who pretend to be subjects of the king of Norway, only show us a commission under the seal of your sovereign, then you may land without opposition; and whatever the commands of his most gracious majesty may be, we will cheerfully execute them." They, however, would neither produce their letters, nor give a civil answer, nor receive any overtures for a pacification. Next morning, with great indignation, the invaders left the islands, and many of their leaders perished in a tempest.

A.D. 1252. Magnus Olaveson came back to Man. His subjects welcomed him with all heartiness, and acknowledged him for their king.

A.D. 1253. Magnus Olaveson set out for the court of Norway, where, meeting with the most friendly reception, he remained a twelvemonth.

A.D. 1254. Haco, the Norwegian monarch, confirmed Magnus Olaveson in the kingdom of all the isles which his forefathers by hereditary right possessed, and ratified this deed under his seal to Magnus, to his heirs, and to his successors, for ever. The enemies of Magnus, on hearing of this grant and of its extent, lost all hopes of supplanting him. Magnus, being thus secured in his dominions, took leave of the king of Norway, and returned home.

A.D. 1256. Magnus Olaveson, king of Man and the isles, went to the court of England, where the king treated him with the utmost kindness and distinction. He first knighted him, and then sent him home with rich gifts and much honour.

A.D. 1257. The church of St. Mary, at Russin, was dedicated by the right reverend father and lord Richard, bishop of Sodor, in the fifth year of his consecration, and the fifth year of Magnus's reign. Simon was then abbot.

A.D. 1263. Haco, king of Norway, appeared off the coast of Scotland; but effecting nothing, he steered for the Orkneys, and died at Kirkwall. In the ensuing spring his remains were conveyed to Norway, and deposited in Trinity church, at Bergen.

A.D. 1265. On the eighth of the kalends of December [24th Nov.], Magnus Olaveson, king of Man and the isles, died in Russin castle, and was buried in St. Mary's church.

A.D. 1266. The sovereignty of Man and the isles was made over to Alexander, king of Scotland.

A.D. 1274. At London, Edward was crowned king of England. That year a general council was held at Lyons, under Gregory the tenth. Margaret, queen of Scotland, daughter of Henry and sister to Richard, kings of England, died this year, and was buried at Dunfermlin.

A.D. 1275. On the seventh of October the fleet of Alexander, king of Scotland, arrived at Ronaldswath; and next morning, before sunrise, a battle was fought between the Manks and Scotch. Victory declared for the Scotch, who slew five hundred and thirty-seven of the Manks; whence some poetaster composed the following distich:—

Ten Ls. thrice X. with five and two did fall;
Ye Manks take care, or suffer more ye shall.

A.D. 1313. Robert, king of Scotland, anchored at Ramsö, with a numerous fleet, on the eighteenth day of May; and on the Sunday following [20th May] went to the monastery of Dubh-glass, where he spent the night. On the Monday [21st May] following he laid siege to the castle of Russin, which lord Dungawi Macdougal[1] held out against the forementioned king till the Tuesday after the festival of St. Barnabas [12th June]; when Robert took the fortress.

[1] Dugald.

A.D. 1316. On Ascension-day [20th May], before sunrise, Richard Mandeville, his brothers, and a number of freebooters from Ireland, came with a considerable fleet to Ronaldswath. There they landed their troops, and standards, and magazines; and demanded supplies of provisions, cattle, and money, saying that they had been plundered of everything by their enemies. Under this pretence, they sent in a petition to the states, who answered, that they would give nothing, but would fight them fairly in the field. The Irish, enraged at the denial, immediately sung their war-song, and prepared for battle. They formed into two divisions, and advanced towards the Manks, till they came to the declivity of the mountain Ward-fell, where they united in a field belonging to John Mandeville, and the engagement began. At the first onset the Manks fled in a body—about forty of them fell on the spot. The Irish, some on horseback, some on foot, pursued the fugitives, and killed and wounded great numbers. They afterwards plundered the country of everything valuable, and, at their leisure, dug up much silver, which had been buried underground in various places. They next came to the abbey of Russin, which they entirely stripped of all its furniture, flocks, and cattle. Having spent a month in this manner, they stowed their ships with the best effects of the country, and returned home.

R. CLAY, PRINTER, BREAD STREET HILL.

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